

35
173
A2
A33
K5
M.2

THE AMERICAN I M A G O

VOL 5

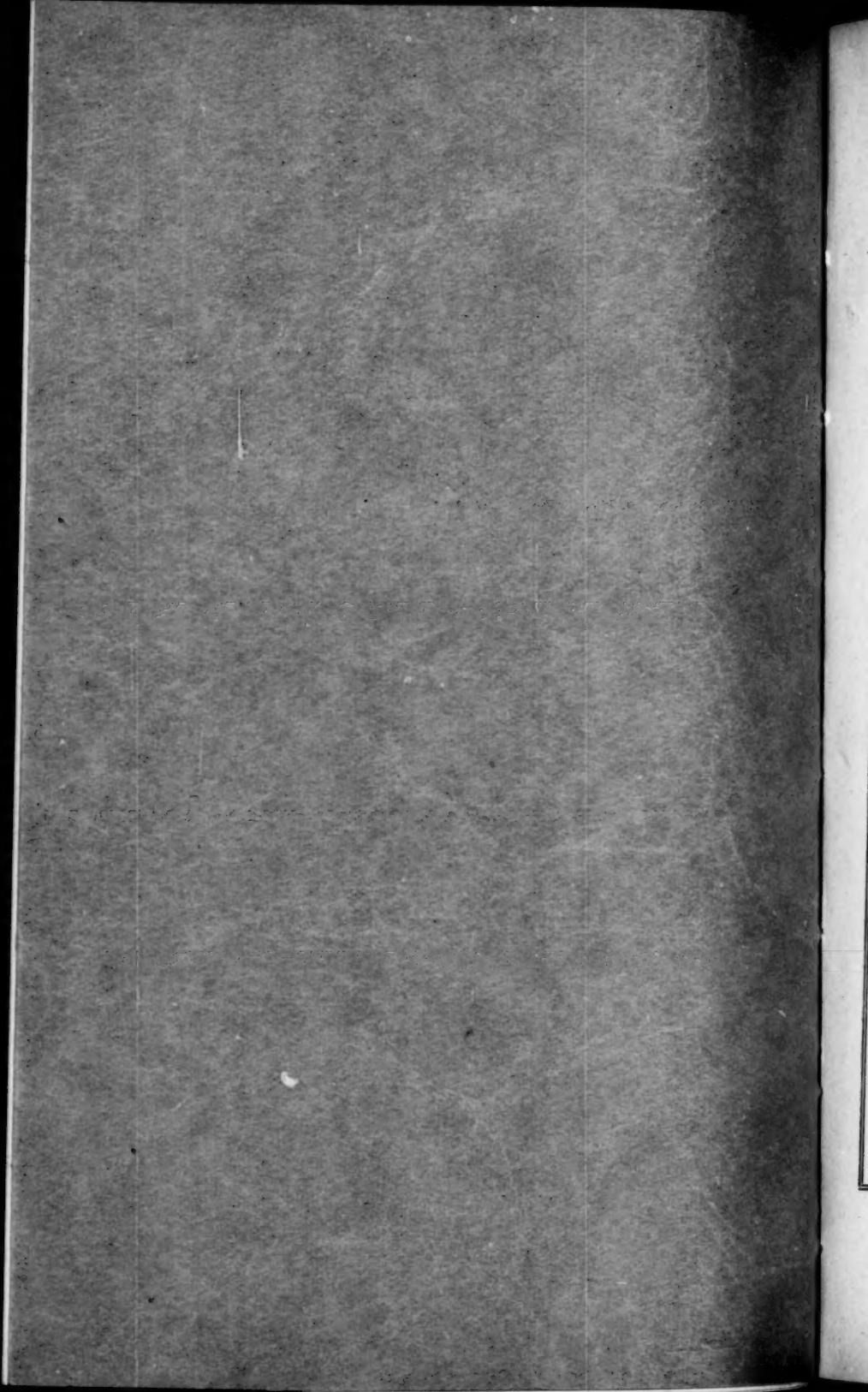
JULY 1948

NO. 2

*A Psychoanalytic Journal
for the Arts and Sciences*

Founded by: Dr. Hanns Sachs, Boston
Publisher and Managing Editor: George B. Wilbur, M. D.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES



THE AMERICAN I M A G O

VOL. 5

JULY 1948

NO. 2

*A Psychoanalytic Journal
for the Arts and Sciences*

Founded by: Dr. Hanns Sachs, Boston

Publisher and Managing Editor: George B. Wilbur, M. D.

Social Science

BF

173

.A2

A33

v. 5

no. 2

THE PLACE OF MYTHOLOGY IN THE STUDY OF CULTURE

by

Howard L. Cox

This study has a two-fold objective. First, it attempts to completely vindicate the original work on mythology done by Freud and later elaborated on by Abraham and second, it shows that mythology can be used in a highly fruitful manner in understanding a given culture.

I think it would not be amiss here to recapitulate briefly Abraham's work on mythology. As he explains, myths are institutionalized dreams. They are made of the same materials as the ordinary dreams of both day and night. This basic material is fantasy, which is a derivative of blocked goals and subsequent wishful thinking. The dynamic psychological mechanisms of the ordinary dream are present in the myth—they operate in the same manner—and they are to be interpreted just as they are in dreams. The mechanisms employed most frequently in the myth are projection, displacement, condensation, secondary elaboration, and symbolization. (1)

I don't believe that any comment is necessary in regard to any of the mechanisms listed above with the exception of symbolization. This concept has suffered from so much misunderstanding that it will be worthwhile to discuss it briefly.

The definitive work on psychoanalytic symbolism was done by E. Jones. He concludes that the symbol represents some idea that has been repressed in the individual and for whom it stands as a symbol. Only that which is repressed is symbolized; only that which is repressed needs to be symbolized. He states further that the number of ideas which can be symbolized is remarkably small in comparison with the number of symbols that can be employed. He stresses the point that these repressed ideas relate to the physical self and its relationship to its environment, i.e. to members

of its immediate family or to the phenomena of birth, love, and death—and that these ideas retain in the unconscious throughout life their original importance, from which the secondary interests of the conscious mind are derived.

It is unnecessary to discuss the genesis and function of symbolism as these are well understood.

Thus far, I have considered symbolization as it applies to the individual, but in order to validly apply the concept to mythological materials, which are the product of many individuals, this gap between the individual and the community of individuals must be bridged. As Dr. G. B. Wilbur has reminded me, this symbolization becomes conventional or common to all because a culture tends to repress the same ideas in all of its culture-bearers. (2)

One more aspect of symbolism remains to be discussed, viz., the interpretation of the symbols of mythological materials. This happens to be a subject of considerable moment because it is in this area that most of the misunderstanding of symbolism has occurred. In this connection I call attention to an article by LaBarre in which he warns of the errors of ethnocentric interpretation of the meanings of symbols. (3) He cautions against arbitrarily extrapolating the meanings of symbols in our own culture to those of another culture. I now quote further relevant statements from this article. "The major part of the significance of an ethnographic fact lies in its context with other ethnographic facts of the same culture. The danger of dragging superficially similar data out of cultural context, data shorn of their significant contextual specificities, is that almost any arbitrary, a prioristic theory (of the absolute meaning of symbols), can embark on a world tour for "verification" through an irresponsible selection of evidence.

It is the very nature of the symbol not to be the thing but to stand for it. There is absolutely no physical-science equivalency of symbol and thing which would compel a "rediscovery" in historically separate cultures of an inevitable connection between the two.

Modern ethnographically-sophisticated students are care-

ful to seek adumbration of obscure points only in the materials of a geographically contiguous area or in materials which have a demonstrable cultural and historical connection through diffusion.

The folklorist whose interest goes beyond the merely descriptive to the dynamic must be prepared to search out and listen to the cultural associations and context of his materials, just as the analyst must listen to the individual free associations of his patient—and in this case the analyst and patient are members of the same culture. If the therapist must guard against a wilfully subjective interpretation of his patient's materials, then surely the same discipline should be preserved by the folklorist, whose informants can't even talk back to the published misinterpretation.

We must remember that the meanings of the symbols are the peoples own meanings even though they may be unconscious of the fact that they have unconsciously put into semantic-symbolic apposition things which are discernably discrete in the real world."

He cites the following cogent example as an explanation of his point. "During the war, there appeared in the China-Burma-India edition of "Yank", a photograph taken in North Africa, with the legend underneath stating that some American soldiers were teaching the Arabic natives how properly to dunk a doughnut. Actually the symbolic worlds of the culture-heroes and the acculturated here are light-years apart. The American soldier is hilariously concerned with the bent little finger, with Emily Post, a vacation from female surveillance, masculine protest, etiquette and vertical social mobility, the frontier and melting pot, muckerism, the Revolution, Anglophobia, the democratic spirit, the Protestant ethos—and heaven knows what else, including what happened in 1066 on an island far away. The Moslem native, on the other hand, is more concerned with different symbolisms: whether or not this comestible was cooked in pork fat, and what (he is extrapolating mistakenly from his own culture) the sexual symbolism of the doughnut's shape which arouses such obvious affect in the American—and

again heaven knows what else, including the repercussions of eastern Mediterranean totemism in prehistoric times. Does one dare, in this situation, bluntly to state (as does the caption) that the American is teaching the Arab the complete theory and practice of dunking doughnuts? The GI may think so, but not the ethnographer! There are all sorts of peripheral meanings hovering around this spuriously simple event, and the utmost skill and patience, knowledge and insight are needed to track down the culture-historical facts. The world, alas, is not one single semantic culture-area. The GI and the Arab are together in North Africa only physically and geographically; culturally they represent the impact of immense cycles of history in Europe and Asia, respectively, behind them."

Myths, then, are largely projections with greater or lesser elements of wishfulfillment. They become institutionalized because they give type answers to type problems. Thus, they come to take on the nature of an anxiety allaying device. Naturally, since these common or type problems are ever present, the myths tend to become perpetual. One finds, as J. F. Brown has said, that almost invariably these problems are of interpersonal and intrafamilial relationships—and that such problems are the basic subjects of myths and folktales. (4)

Now if the premise that mythology is the product of wishful thinking is correct—and if, as he must, the individual introjects his culture along with its conflicts, values, ethics, etc.—then these elements of his culture must be apparent in his mythology. I shall assume that what he wishes for he does not have—and this should tell us where his culture does not satisfy his needs—or where his culture creates individual psychic needs but fails to satisfy them. Since the latent content of the myth is unconscious and unknown we should be able to see some of the causes and effects in more subtle nuances. We could thereby gain a deeper insight into the culture and we could see the stresses and strains placed on the personality by his culture—which will be demonstrated below.

It is as if a stranger to our own culture who, hearing and studying our popular songs (similar to myths in function and structure) would suspect that we are greatly obsessed or anxious or concerned about adult heterosexual love—because this one subject is stressed relatively more than any other. He might then note that such songs as "Dear Mom", "I Want a Girl Just Like the Girl Who Married Dear Old Dad", "My Buddy", "Dear Old Dad", the "Mammie" and "Daddie" songs, "That Old Gang of Mine", and more recently, "I'm My Own Grandpa" are also popular—and that perhaps these songs point to the sources of difficulty in the relationships between the adults of the opposite sexes in our culture.

It seems to me that the most efficacious method of demonstrating the definition of mythology given above and also showing the place or value of mythology in cultural studies is to examine the culture and mythology of a particular group and then to make some attempt at correlating the salient features of both.

For this purpose I have chosen the people of the Marquesas Islands. These people were studied by Dr. Ralph Linton. Later he and Dr. Abram Kardiner collaborated to produce that excellent work, *The Individual and His Society*. (5). From this book I shall abstract the relevant materials on Marquesan culture. Much of this material is quoted.

In a general survey of this sort there are three focal points in Marquesan society which should be elaborated. The first of these focal points is food.

Several factors operate to make food a source of great anxiety. One of these is due to the environment. Since these island are only 10° south of the equator, the climate is warm with little seasonal change. Being north of the trade winds and consequently devoid of seasonal rains, the islands are frequently subjected to long and serious droughts which led to crop failure and even to lack of drinking water. Food is plentiful in good seasons but a drought might last three years—which sometimes led to hunger cannibalism

and widespread starvation which sometimes decimated the population by one third.

Another important factor is the way in which the neonate is nourished. These people believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain minimum amount of nursing, but in any event the nursing period was short. Women's breasts are more important in the sexual sphere than in feeding the child. Naturally, they rationalized that nursing esthetically deformed the breasts. Linton says that the feeding process was brutal. Frequently, too, children were adopted by foster parents which would tend to a diminution of maternal tenderness. (Later on it will be important to remember that men have been observed sucking women's breasts when it was not pre-coital play—and that the "perversions" are fellatio and cunnilingus.)

(An enduring psychic stress is thus imposed on the individual in regard to food—and this will be strikingly shown in their mythology.)

Now according to Kardiner and Linton the second focal point in the character formation of the Marquesan is the sex ratio. There are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ men to every woman. The reason for this disparity is unknown. The natives deny infanticide; however, this most likely explains it. Marriage is thus polyandrous. Women are consequently highly valued as sex objects and they spend most of their time perfecting their erotic techniques because this gives them dominance and control over men. The sexual drive is almost completely uninhibited, but the act itself is devoid of tenderness. It is instead characterized by scratching, biting, and the like; however, all Marquesans were potent. Men were thus put into a position where they had to propitiate women in order to gain their sexual favors. The penis was regarded as a feeding organ, i. e. this would allay her malevolence. Jealousy among men was supposed to be absent—at least society prohibited it because of its disruptive influence. (It is interesting to note here that I found one legend in which the hero goes to a land of many beautiful women—and he

is the only man in this land of women. All the women, of course, try to seduce him. The wishful fantasy expressed in this legend is very suggestive.)

Thus, the sex ratio has important implications for Marquesan character structure since it drastically affects marriage and family relationships, the care and disciplining of the child, and the social and heterosexual relations between adults.

The third focal point is the area of intrafamilial relationships and basic disciplines. The mother-child relationship has already been considered but it is important to keep this in mind.

Sphincter control is inculcated by example and apparently without any punishment. In fact the child is not punished for any misdemeanor. There is no discipline in regard to sexual activity. It is recognized in childhood and is allowed free expression. Masturbation is used to pacify children. The only tabu on sexual activity concerns objects rather than goals, i.e., siblings and parents are tabu as objects. Sex comes to be in the adult not an ego prop as in our society, but primarily a defense against food anxiety.

Responsibility for child care is diffused among the father, mother, secondary husbands, and paternal and maternal relatives. Due to the sex ratio, defenses against anxiety, etc., the real protector of the child is the father—and to an even greater degree the secondary husbands of the household. Because of the lack of discipline and punishment the parental image is not unduly inflated. This means that the mother is placed in an unfavorable position when compared to the father. There is no time in the individual's life history when he can learn to trust the woman and think of her as one whose interests and loyalty he can count on. (This will be vividly shown in the analysis of the mythology.)

Another interesting institution is that of primogeniture. The first son is accorded so much prestige that even his father is thrown into the background after the birth of the first child. The prestige of the family is carried by the first son and the whole household revolves around him at the ex-

pense of the other members. (In every myth related by Handy the father dies soon after the birth of the first son—or even shortly after he is conceived—or else he is mentioned no more. The story then concerns itself with the adventures of this son.)

Social mobility for the woman is very great since she is valued primarily as a sexual object. (In their mythology a girl of the lowest social origins, but possessing the requisite physique and erotic technique may easily become the wife of a chief. This is true also in real life. There are frequent mythological references to chiefesses.)

Sibling rivalry is diminished by the existence of equal opportunities for sexual gratification and the fact that both boys and girls have one common "enemy", viz., the mother.

I think now that the main points of Marquesan society as gathered and analyzed by Linton and Kardiner have been covered.

It occurred to me that we may use or analyze Marquesan mythology as a check on the validity of the conclusions reached by Kardiner as to the focal points in the culture, as a check on the validity of the opinions of Freud and Abraham on mythology, and finally just to see how mythology can be used as an aid to the understanding of culture.

To this end, I propose to treat their mythology in a quasi-statistical manner. This will, I believe, show at a glance the areas of social and psychical stress. By this method, rather than by individual analysis of a few legends, I can cover the entire gamut of their society.

I have carefully gone over all the material in *Marquesan Legends*, which was compiled and edited by Handy. (6) I believe that this book is an exhaustive collection of their mythology. I then tabulated references to the most dynamically important and conspicuous elements of their culture.

If now, these references to various psychic areas of the culture are tabulated in the order of their numerical frequency, a very interesting fact comes to light. When these items are tabulated in order of their frequency, which will naturally be a measure of the degree of trauma for the

individual, we get a continuous series of stages of psycho-sexual development from the child to the adult. We see, then, the continuity of the cause and effect thread of development from the earliest traumatic experience of the neonate (deprivation of the breast and maternal tenderness) to its manifestation in the character of the adult personality. It shows clearly that the adult personality is determined or strongly colored by his infantile experiences.

1. Food, feast, eating, etc.	115
2. Sexual intercourse—in or out of marriage and the initiative about equally divided between the sexes	45
3. Hostile or unfavorable representation of women	30
4. Cannibalism (Women as cannibals)	15
5. Bad mother (the child's own mother)	13
6. Male fear or mistrust of women	12
7. Interfeminine hostility	8
8. Male jealousy (in spite of societal prohib- ition)	7
9. Female dominance over males	6
10. Electra situation	3
11. Oedipus situation	0
12. Sexual dissatisfaction, e.g. impotency	0

This phenomenon becomes more striking still when it is considered that all of the *Marquesan Legends* comprises only about 70 pages of type.

I wish now to comment briefly on this table. In the first place, the references to food were never lack of food, but always its abundance i.e. wish fulfillment. The emphasis was placed on quantity of food rather than quality. In this connection it is instructive to note that the word "desire" (in a sexual connotation) is literally translated as "bad was his stomach with passion"—and that "bad manners" (in a general sense) is translated literally as "eat badly". Also, when a man was possessed by a god, the god resided in his stomach.

Attention should be called to the great amount of hostility towards women. This total affect was broken into four divisions to show (1) that the child's hostile feelings toward his own mother are so great that not all of it can be displaced onto other objects, but that much of it remains directed on the first maternal figure (2) the representation of women as cannibals shows in addition to hostility some other factor which is not clear for lack of data and (3) that all this hostility directed towards women comes back to the men in the form of fear. Of course all the subdivisions are interrelated causally.

The Electra situation is to be expected. Now, Kardiner does not find the Oedipal picture and I agree with him that the Oedipal complex is, among other things, a derivative of a certain type of family structure—and as this structure is altered, so is the relationship of child to parents. As explained above, the structure and the intrafamilial relationships of the Marquesan family are unique—and they are such that the usual Oedipal complex is not formed.

However, I must add that the mythological evidence indicates that the Marquesan child is subject to more discipline than the data of Linton and Kardiner would seem to show. This observation is made on the basis of the frequency of the word "tabu" and "sacred" in the stories, which would indicate that in some directions the process of socialization which is enforced by the father may not be negligible. And individuals have been known to die from auto-suggestion after breaking a tabu. There are also elaborate mourning rituals, ghosts, etc. It is only fair to add that this factor is far outweighed by the picture of the father as a protector and companion of the child.

Marquesan religion, (7) which is a projective system similar to mythology, corroborates Kardiner's conclusions in regard to this point. The gods are not threatening, vindictive, omnipotent, omniscient—or even awesome. There is only one goddess and she is a very minor figure in the pantheon. Occasionally a god is killed—and infrequently resurrected—but the other member of the triangle is absent.

This phenomenon is, of course, explicable by the preceding paragraph. (It will be remembered that throughout the life of the individual the sexual drive is unrestrained except for the object tabu of mother and siblings.) This possibly explains why the Marquesans were not easily Christianized—that is, their family structure formed no similar pattern to the Christian family—they just couldn't comprehend because they had no background favorable to the acceptance of the Christian idea of a supreme god with all of his other attributes and his attitudes. Marquesan religion is no psychic burden.

If the Oedipus complex is conceived of (in part) in its widest sense—as LaBarre says, (8) “The adjustment to, or the making peace with the not-self i.e. the father”—then it is here as it is everywhere, but this is the only element of it that is present in the Marquesan individual. That this element is easily handled is attested to by the infrequent killing or death of a god—and the still more infrequent resurrection, which shows that there is not a great deal of hostility or guilt directed towards the father figure. There are also no rites de passage. Other supporting evidence is the incipient, attenuated totemism, in so far as the people believe that they are descended from various animals, but there is no great amount of affect involved—and the central element of totemism i.e. exogamous clans is not present.

In summary then, it is true as Symonds says (9), that in mythology it is as if the people project their conflicts, desires, ethics and values (which are a part of the previously introjected culture) onto a stage where they are objectified—and where the people can, by identification with the characters, work out a solution to their personal problems. Of course a certain amount of vicarious satisfaction is gained in these oblique and devious expressions of the unconscious desires. There is also a therapeutic element in mythology in so far as it serves to drain off aggression. Mythology, it is clear, is a cultural Rorschach in which the elements are structured according to the needs of the people arising from the culture, and the psychic stresses imposed by the culture.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

1. *Dreams and Myths* — K. Abraham
2. Private communication — G. B. Wilbur
3. Article to be published soon in
Journal of American Folklore — W. La Barre
4. *Psychodynamics of Abnormal
Behavior* — J. F. Brown
5. *The Individual and His Society* — A. Kardiner
6. *Marquesan Legends* — E. S. C. Handy
7. *Polynesian Religion* — E. S. C. Handy
8. Oral communication — W. LaBarre
9. *The Dynamics of Human Adjustment*
— P. Symonds

MOHAVE INDIAN

OBSTETRICS (*) (**)

A Psychoanalytic Study

By

George Devereux Ph.D.

Topeka, Kansas

The systematic study of primitive obstetrics is still in its infancy. Even though standard anthropological monographs usually contain detailed accounts of obstetrical rituals and taboos, actual cases of childbirth are seldom described, and the psychological and social significance of the crisis of childbirth is hardly ever subjected to a careful scrutiny. Hence speculations about primitive childbirth tend to distort reality to a rather considerable extent, witness the widely held belief that "most primitive women, not being neurotic, bear their children without pain and without complications." It is not easy to understand how such an extraordinary belief could have come into being, when even relatively sketchy anthropological studies usually list rituals and taboos believed to facilitate childbirth, protect the mother and child, and overcome various difficulties connected with delivery.

(36)

Hence it is felt that a detailed study of Mohave Indian obstetrics may be of some value not merely to anthropologists but also to students of psychiatry and of the history of medicine.

The crisis of childbirth is usually a comparatively short and climactic one, and hence calls for brisk activity, rather than for complicated ritual observances. On the other hand difficult childbirth, unduly prolonged labor and other obstetrical emergencies find the Mohave relatively helpless, and are hence usually the occasion for complicated shamanistic performances. The Mohave themselves were apparently

(*) From the Musée de l'Homme, Paris.

(**) Numbers in brackets refer to the bibliography. Capital letters in brackets refer to footnotes.

aware of the inadequacies of their shamanistic obstetrics, since this branch of native medicine is literally the only one which today is completely obliterated by modern medicine. The shaman Ahma Huma:re, who claims to possess supernatural powers enabling him to treat obstetrical complications, informed me that he had never been called upon to use his obstetrical powers, even though he was much in demand for the cure of the weylak and hiku:pk diseases. The concrete incident which caused the disappearance of any demand for this type of shamanism is recorded below.

The Mythical Background of Childbirth. "It was instituted by the God Matavilye that the child should spend ten (lunar) months — or the duration of ten menstrual cycles — in the womb, and feel well therein. Toward the end of this period it will begin to move about and will tear things apart, in an attempt to emerge from the womb. This causes profuse hemorrhage at delivery". (This belief exists side by side with the theory that bleeding at childbirth is due to the expulsion of stored-up menstrual blood. (24) "With the exception of potential shamans, who do not wish to be born or to live, and who therefore think of killing their mothers at birth (12, 40, 47) all unborn children plot and dream of ways and means to be born in as smooth and simple a manner as possible. Delivery usually occurs during the new moon, though some women give birth only when the moon is already on the wane. At the time of birth the placenta gets out of the way and ceases to obstruct the cervix, thus making it possible for the child to emerge."

Preparations for childbirth were mostly of a ritual kind. According to Dr. M. A. I. Nettle "The native woman never prepared any clothes or other supplies for her coming infant, owing to the peculiar superstition that if she did the child would die. Even today we have to contend with much of this old "superstition," even among the better educated schoolgirls. (48)." My own Mohave informants knew nothing of such a "superstition", and suggested that Dr. Nettle's informant must have said that the child "might" die, rather than that it "would" die. This interpretation

is supported by the proven fact that in aboriginal times many children died either before or during delivery, or else shortly after being born. My informants did confirm, however, the statement that the Mohave provided no supplies in anticipation of the birth of a child (36) but, at the same time, stressed the fact that the necessary supplies could be assembled in a few minutes. They also pointed out that, despite prophetic dreams (24), no one could be quite certain of the sex of an unborn infant, and that it was, hence, impossible to provide a cradle in advance, since the cradles of boys were different from the cradles of girl-children. They also emphasized that this delay involved no hardships for the infant, partly because newborn children were not immediately placed in a cradle, and partly because it took only a few hours to manufacture a cradle of the required type. (36).

Two shamans, one of whom had obstetrical powers, and other informants as well, alleged that the prospective parents attempted to facilitate delivery by partaking, whenever possible, of the meat of a — preferably young — stallion during the last four days of the mother's pregnancy. They explained that the animal was usually killed and butchered by a relative, since prospective parents were not permitted to eat their own kill. On the other hand, the entire stallion-meat eating complex was denied by Tcate, who asserted that it would damage the child about to be born.

The custom in question is interesting in several respects:

(1) The meat of the stallion is taboo throughout the duration of pregnancy, since "just as the stallion kicks while he is alive, so the meat of the stallion would kick the child out of the womb." Hence the eating of the meat of a stallion, just before delivery, was believed to facilitate childbirth. On the other hand it is obvious that a premature eating of this meat would "result" in premature birth. This custom therefore seems to imply that the Mohave could predict, four days in advance, the exact date of delivery. When confronted with this implication, my informants declared that the Mohave had no means of making such accurate

predictions, but insisted that they could make reasonably accurate guesses as to the probable date of delivery. It is hence probable that they spoke of "four days" merely because four is the ritual "round" number in Mohave culture. It is furthermore obvious that if a stallion was indeed killed for this specific purpose — which is by no means certain — the meat of so large an animal would last at least four days, and presumably until delivery actually took place. In brief, we are dealing here simply with a rough native generalization, which is about as close to reality as any culturally standardized generalization is ever likely to be. (19)

(2) The psychological implications of this custom are of considerable significance. The stallion is a well known phallic symbol, especially among the Mohave who, as a rule, castrate all work and riding horses. It is also important to recall in this context the Mohave belief that, during pregnancy, coitus must not be performed too vigorously, lest the penis should damage the foetus. (24) This belief is probably rooted in an infantile theory of birth, familiar to psychoanalysts (38, 42) which consists in the belief that the paternal penis dislodges the child from the womb, and forces it to be born. This belief appears to have some basis in physiological realities, since orgasmic uterine contractions resemble uterine contractions during childbirth. In fact it is well known that coitus during the last days of pregnancy, or during labor, can accelerate delivery. (49). Hence, we are apparently dealing here with a culturally standardized disguise of this infantile birth theory.

(3) Mohave beliefs concerning phallic aggressions against the unborn child, and the fact that prospective parents are not permitted to eat their own kill, may perhaps be interpreted as cultural inhibitions of cannibalistic impulses directed against the child. A legend, which explains why the Mohave abandoned the practice of large scale infanticide, greatly increases the plausibility of such an interpretation of this custom (21).

In brief, this practice represents a "return of the repressed" in a more or less disguised and "benevolent"

form. The killing of the stallion may, therefore, perhaps be interpreted as an anticipatory expiation of the "aggression" against the unborn child, which this rite compels to emerge from the womb. The above interpretations will be considerably strengthened by an analysis of certain statements made by the shaman Ahma Huma:re, who had received supernatural obstetrical powers. (cf. below.)

Dreams and dream omens were not believed to facilitate or accelerate childbirth. Unlike the Yuma (31), the Mohave did not believe that bird dreams had any connection with parturition.

Women approaching their confinement were not subjected to ritual hardships or fastings, nor did they return to the home of their parents. They did only light work, such as keeping house and making some vague and unspecified preparations for their coming confinement. They were not forced to work until pains started, though neighboring tribes did make such demands on pregnant women. (36).

If the prospective parents were living together, delivery took place in or near the home of the couple. If the parents were separated, the woman gave birth wherever she happened to live at the time of her confinement. Women who were so dissolute and obnoxious that even their relatives abandoned them (23), repaired to some secluded spot and gave birth to their illegitimate offspring alone, and unassisted.

The onset of labor-pains indicated that delivery was imminent. During the warm season the woman was taken to a clearing in the bushes, in the immediate vicinity of her home, "near the spot where the afterbirth was to be buried." (So far as I was able to ascertain, this statement is simply a clumsy way of expressing the fact that, whenever delivery took place outdoors, the afterbirth was buried in the immediate vicinity of that place. The Mohave make no attempt to select particularly auspicious spots for burying the afterbirth.) In the winter the woman was taken to an adobe "winter-house", which some Mohave informants, who happen to have heard of Mission Indian practices, erroneously designate by the term "sweat-house", (A)

The house was cleared of men, and delivery usually took place only in the presence of a few female blood or affinal relatives (36). While all of my informants emphasized the privacy which surrounded childbirth, Dr. Nettle asserted (48) that childbirth "is performed in public, among the family, neighbors male and female, children and dogs. There is no real contradiction between the statements of my informants and Dr. Nettle's own observations. Dr. Nettle, as a reservation physician, was called in only in emergencies, and generally only after a shaman had already tried, and failed, to help the woman. Hence she saw only women who were surrounded by the crowd which had assembled to assist the shaman by loudly assenting to his songs and speeches. Normal deliveries took place in private, and the woman was assisted only by a small number of volunteer midwives.

Dr. Nettle also stated that the father of the child was forbidden to come near the laboring woman, lest his presence should unduly protract the delivery. My own informants denied the existence of such a belief, but stated that "it was not fitting for a man to hang around when his wife was in labor." (26) (The term "father" denotes in this context the man claiming paternity of the child.) (10). Only when the delivery proved to be a difficult one, did the father join his parturating wife. This last mentioned practice tends to disprove the existence of the belief mentioned by Dr. Nettle, since, if such a belief existed, one might expect the husband to be conspicuously absent especially during a difficult delivery. In concrete terms, the presence of the husband was not a *cause*, but a *result* of obstetrical difficulties.

The woman was usually assisted by her mother or maternal grandmother, or else by some other female relatives. (26). (Hrdlicka's data (36) regarding paid expert midwives were not confirmed by my informants.) Only in exceptional cases was she assisted by her husband's female kin. In the selection of assistants preference was given to women who had no difficulties giving birth to their own children, and who had sufficient strength to hold the parturating woman

in the Mohave obstetric position. No supporting sticks or straps were used. Male assistance was given only to women who lived too far from other houses to secure female assistants on short notice. In emergencies one person's help was sufficient. In that case, instead of being supported from the rear, the woman leaned against the "center-pole" of the house, (36, 40) or, if the delivery took place outdoors, against a tree. Delivery took place in a sitting position. Any other obstetric position was believed to injure the child. This obstetric position is quite characteristic of that culture area (36).

The following account, furnished by Dr. Nettle (48) describes childbirth rather accurately. Supplementary data, secured either from my own informants, or from published sources are placed in brackets.

"When the Mohave woman comes into labor,—which may last from half a day to two days (36)—she squats upon the dirt floor of the hut, or on the sand, out in the open, and scoops out a shallow excavation between her thighs, to receive the infant." (In some cases one of the parturating woman's assistants is asked to dig this small pit. According to my informants the woman did not squat, but sat on the floor, with her legs stretched out in front of her. Bent legs were thought to constitute an obstacle to delivery, and to push the child back into the womb. For the same reason the woman was not permitted to sit on a stool. A blanket or sheet was spread over the woman's lap, since Mohave women are loath to expose their genitals (22). "Another squaw seats herself behind the patient and clasps her arms around her waist. At each pain the patient bears down on the palms of her hands placed flat on the ground, while the attendant bears down on her abdomen and holds her down (36)." (This requires much strength (36). If, during protracted labor, the first attendant became exhausted, another muscular woman took her place. The patient was not shaken by the assistant. A second woman sat in the front of the parturient woman, her hands under the aforementioned blanket, ready to receive the infant when

it is born. (40) Thus the woman's private parts were never exposed. This is significant, since sometimes the assistant was the woman's own daughter, who should not see the mother's vulva. As the child emerged from the mother's body, it was caught by the assistant. It was not allowed to fall into the blood which, by that time, began to fill the small pit, since blood in general, and menstrual and child-birth blood in particular, was considered something disgusting. Should blood touch the child's eyes, they might never open entirely. (This suggests the possibility of gonococcus infection.) Should some of the blood dribble into the child's mouth, it will sicken. (This latter ailment was cured by the shaman Haravi:ya, who also specialized in the cure of Weylak nyevedhi:.) "When the head appeared another old squaw, squatting in front, held it out of the dirt, until the rest of the body is born. Then" (anciently with a splinter of stone (26), or with a piece of glass, and, at present, with a knife) "she cuts or tears the cord, and ties the child's side of the cord with a piece of old rag, or bark fiber" (36) (made of twined or twisted bark), (36) "but ties a knot on the maternal end. They tell me they do this to prevent the mother's spirit from running out along with the cord."

The last two sentences of Dr. Nettle's account are somewhat obscure. My own informants stated that the cord was never cut until the entire afterbirth was delivered. Until then the child remained in the small pit. This small pit was not lined with a blanket, as it was among the Maricopa and Havasupai. (54, 53). It is possible, however, that the Maricopa and Havasupai blanket did not only line the pit, but also served to conceal the genitals of the woman. Since the cord was not cut until the placenta was expelled, it is hard to see how the mother's "spirit" could run out of it. Furthermore, since the Mohave have four souls (9, 10) it is not clear which of these souls is supposed to escape in this manner. Dr. Nettle's text was carefully checked with native informants, who could not confirm this passage. A "squeezing of the cord to expel all blood" (36) could likewise not be confirmed. It was specifically stated that no

knot was tied in the maternal end of the severed cord. The cord was cut "about one inch or a little more" from the navel (36). Should it be cut further away "the navel of the child will stick out about half an inch". A protruding navel (umbilical hernia?) of this type could be corrected by applying a pad of shredded bark on it, and tying it down, like a compress, with one of the cradle-straps. After the cord was cut, the stump was dressed with a mushy material made from the parched seeds of a plant identified by Dr. Nettle as *Cucurbata foetidissima*. When "after about four days" (36) the stump fell off, the navel was slightly cleansed, and dressed with some "powdery, slippery clay", which was also used to dress other wounds and chafings. There was no special rejoicing when the stump of the cord fell off, since it usually happened without any difficulties (36). The stump was always discarded (26.)

The entire afterbirth was swiftly and unobtrusively buried by a female assistant or relative (26) and not, as Dr. Nettle stated, by the father or a male relative. It was buried deep enough to prevent the dogs from digging it up. Although this would not have involved any supernatural calamity, it was felt that animals should not eat human flesh.

The child was not permitted to come into contact with any part of the severed cord or of the afterbirth, lest it should sicken. This prohibition is in striking contrast with the customs of the Eastern Yuman speaking tribes of the mountainous regions. (36, 41)

Dr. Nettle stated that after the delivery of the child and the cutting of the cord, but before the expulsion of the afterbirth, the woman stood up, and even walked about, until she "literally dropped the afterbirth". This is obviously a mistake, since the cord was cut only after the expulsion of the afterbirth. Furthermore, it was believed that an erect posture would have pushed the afterbirth back into the womb. As a matter of fact, Dr. Nettle herself corrected all these mistakes, in her account of a difficult case of childbirth, which she herself had an opportunity to wit-

ness. According to Hrdlicka (36), the Indian women of this region deliver the placenta a little faster than white women do. (but cf. below Case 1.)

Should the expulsion of the afterbirth be delayed, the woman sitting behind the mother clasped her waist, and applied pressure, in order to expel the afterbirth.

It was forbidden, under penalty of subsequent barrenness, to burn any part of the material expelled at birth. The speedy burial of these objects made it impossible for the woman to burn them for the purpose of making herself sterile, nor did anyone ever attempt to make a woman sterile by burning her afterbirth. For this reason the afterbirth was not buried secretly — "one merely did not talk about its burial place," — and no one cared to make inquiries about it. We are once more confronted here with the contrast between the Mohave taboo on cremating dead babies or anything connected with menstrual blood, and the custom of cremating the "adult" dead. (40).

Postnatal care consisted of a rather complicated set of observances. As soon as the afterbirth was expelled, the woman was made to lie intermittently for a period of four days (26) on a bed, or mound, of hot ashes, mixed with sand, first on her belly, and then on her back. This custom was supposed to facilitate the expulsion of all the blood that should be expelled during delivery. (According to Dr. Nettle such a practice can result in a hemorrhage). In addition the woman's mother, or some other female attendant, bore down on her belly to facilitate the flow. It was believed that if any of this "bad blood" were permitted to remain inside the womb, the woman would fall ill. There is an obvious similarity between this custom and menstrual observances. (26).

The exact name and nature of the disease resulting from the retention of this blood was not recorded. I do not doubt, however, that the Mohave would classify it as a form of weylak, since that term is applied to many diseases connected with the retention of menstrual blood.

Women who bleed very little at delivery are believed

to start menstruating again rather soon — i. e. within four or five lunar months after childbirth — and it is thought that such women would bear many children.

The thighs, the abdomen and the vulva were sponged with a wad of shredded bark soaked in water (36). I presume that warm water was used for this purpose, since cold water was believed to be dangerous during the physiological crises of a woman's life. This point was, however, not specifically investigated. The vagina itself was not irrigated, since water in the vagina was believed to cause the kumadhi: hikwi:r disease. According to Dr. Nettle "the poor mother will get no other attention. If she is able to clean herself up a bit and put on dry clothing, she does it. She lies with the body against the sand and this absorbs the discharge." (The "sand" in question is probably the mound of warm ashes mixed with sand.)

During childbirth the woman was expected to retain her composure. She was "not expected to holler, lest people should bait her later on for being unable to stand pain with equanimity". [Girls who cried while they were being deflowered were likewise ridiculed (22).]

Complications: The Mohave were well aware of the fact that childbirth was not always a smooth process. According to Hrdlicka (36), they believe that labor, in giving birth to girls, is harder than in bearing boys. Several factors were believed to cause obstetrical complications.

(1) The cold of the winter was alleged to prolong labor.

(2) The violation of pregnancy taboos (24) was another cause of difficult childbirth. It is not clear whether obstetrical complications of this type, or death in childbirth, were attributed to any conscious or purposive activity on the part of the unborn child. Personally I doubt that the Mohave hold any such belief.

(3) Extraneous magical influences could also complicate delivery. A woman who had a difficult time giving birth to her own child was expected to stay away from parturating women, lest her presence should aggravate the difficulties of childbirth. It was denied that such women

would, with malice aforethought, approach another woman, for the purpose of complicating her delivery. Dr. Nettle's statement that the presence of the father caused complications in childbirth has been refuted above.

(4) Witchcraft was the most important, or at least the most frequently mentioned, cause of obstetric complications, and the one which was the hardest to deal with. Witchcraft could affect delivery in two ways:

(a) A malevolent shaman may bewitch a woman and cause her to have a difficult delivery. Witchcraft of this kind usually killed both the mother and the child. The shaman's power "went like a beam through the womb, and through the foetus as well". "It will be in the child (i.e. it will be the characterologically determined intent of the child) not to emerge, because the shaman had taught it the trick meaning death, which consists in the art of remaining in the womb." It has been explicitly stated that the shaman's magic acts, in this case, through the medium of the unborn child's own will, which the shaman manipulates through his "teaching". This is extremely important, because it connects difficult birth due to witchcraft with the prospective shaman's own spontaneous prenatal refusal to be born. In other words the shaman teaches the child to do something which the shaman himself allegedly attempted to do before he was born. (12, 47)

(b) The future or potential shaman does not wish to be born. "While other foeti dream of how to be born, he dreams of how *not* to be born." "Due to his devilishness", he assumes a transversal position in the womb. He "wishes to kill the first person he can get hold of, even though that person happens to be his mother, and even though this trick might kill him as well. He does not mind dying, since he does not wish to be born." This complicated theory is discussed in some detail elsewhere (12, 47). It should be noted that the unborn shaman cannot hurt anyone except himself and his mother. (B)

The above complications are due to foetal malposition, i.e. "the child is in a transversal position." Some inform-

ants also alleged that the Mohave do not know of breech-presentation, no case of which seems to have occurred within human memory. In reply to a direct question a woman of about forty-five stated, however, that children are seldom actually born with breech presentation "because, in such cases, both the mother and the child die, probably because we do not know how to cope with this mode of presentation." It is probable that this woman's "knowledge" of breech presentation is due to acculturation, since the taboo on the names of the dead would suffice to wipe out very rapidly the memory of any such case. Yet abnormal foetal positions in general were well known and greatly dreaded (36).

It should be pointed out, however, that all types of foetal malposition need not be due exclusively to shamanistic proclivities, or to witchcraft, but may result from a violation of the rule that, during pregnancy, the spouses may not sleep with their heads in opposite directions, i.e. in the position assumed by quarrelling spouses (24), since this would cause the child to be born "feet first". Births of this type often result in the death of the child, and one rather fully acculturated Mohave informant actually described this form of birth as "feet first, to slow music."

Most of the above complications require the intervention of a shaman.

Minor complications are those the Mohave laymen were able to cope with. Some children are born in a caul, due to the violation of certain pregnancy taboos (24). In such instances the midwife searched for the child's mouth and broke the caul in that place. No child ever died merely because it was born in a caul. If the child was born with the umbilical cord entangled around its neck or wrist, it was speedily, and without any ritual observances, disentangled from the cord. This complication was likewise due to a violation of certain pregnancy taboos. (24)

The difficult delivery of the afterbirth was frequently attributed attributed to cold weather. In other instances it was merely an additional complication in a difficult birth. It sometimes caused the death of the child, since the cord

was not cut until the placenta was delivered. This caused an appreciable delay in some instances, since the Mohave knew of no efficient mechanical means of speeding up the delivery of the afterbirth.

Lethal complications were sometimes due to the fact that the Mohave did not know how to make the child breathe. This led to the death of some children, who were born actually "choked" by the umbilical cord, instead of having it merely entangled around the neck.

Death in childbirth was not a very rare occurrence in aboriginal times. The Mohave were unable to save the unborn infant if the mother died before delivering it. No emergency, or post-mortem caesarean operations were ever performed.

Case 1. "When Ahma huma:re's wife died in childbirth, they could feel the child kick within the womb of the dead woman. Then the child stopped kicking, and died. Due to our ignorance, we did not know what to do to save the child". Modhar taa:p, Ahma huma:re's older son by the same wife, thought that this tragic event caused his father to become interested in obstetrics, and emphasized the fact that Ahma huma:re's obstetrical powers developed later than did his powers to cure weylak and other diseases. Modhar taa:p's own dreams show that he himself had been severely traumatized by this event.

All informants agreed that a woman who died before delivering her infant was cremated like any other adult. Some informants stated that when mother and child both died after delivery, they were cremated together. Other informants denied this statement, which is nonetheless likely to be a substantially correct one. Only stillborn children, whose mothers survived, appear to have been buried, rather than cremated. (21). The soul of a woman who died in childbirth was not believed to turn into a particularly dangerous ghost, and her metamorphoses in the land of the dead were similar to those of other persons. (9). If she died of obstetrical complications resulting from witchcraft, her ghost, like that of other victims of witchcraft, was held

in a more or less temporary captivity by the witch (12).

When the mother alone died in childbirth, the child was not killed, though there were some difficulties in suckling it, since every woman tried to wean her own child as late as possible. It was particularly difficult for a nursing woman to suckle an alien one, since her own child "might become ill through being jealous of the intruder". (20) Pregnant women, who still happened to have milk, never suckled anyone except their own child. Only close relatives of the deceased ever consented to suckle an orphan. Young women tended to suckle the youngest child of their own mother, if she happened to die in childbirth. (Older women frequently died of childbirth.) In other words a grown woman could become the foster mother of her youngest sibling. (20) Conversely, women past menopause often managed to produce milk, if they wished to suckle the child of a daughter who died in childbirth. (6, 20, 49).

Accounts of cases of difficult childbirth are hard to obtain, due to the taboo on the name of the dead. The following case was both observed and recorded by Dr. Nettle and is reproduced in extense. According to Dr. Nettle the shaman in question was kwathany hi:va. The Mohave, however, who remember this case well, and confirmed Dr. Nettle's account of it in every other respect, declared that the shaman in question was P.L. It is rather probable that the Mohave identification is the correct one, since the shaman is reported to have referred to himself as an "old man", and in August 1910, Kwathany hi:va was still a rather young man. The case in question is of extraordinary interest, since it ended once and for all the practice of shamanistic obstetrics among the Mohave Indians. Due to the failure of P.L.'s treatment, and Dr. Nettle's own subsequent successful intervention, shamanistic obstetrics have become so obsolete, that Ahma Huma:re specifically told me that, whereas he had received supernatural obstetrical powers, he had never been called upon to practice this form of shamanism. The case is, hence, quoted in extenso from Dr. Nettle's manuscript, (48) since it is very seldom indeed that we can

specifically identify the date and the circumstances of the disappearance of an important custom. At present most Mohave women have their child in the Agency Hospital.

Case 2. "I (Dr. Nettle) was passing by a camp one afternoon in August 1910, in company with the Superintendent, on a tour of inspection, when we heard a great howling and some Indians ran out to tell us that Ch. had had a baby but that it had not yet come out, and would I come in and see if I could do anything, as so far the medicine-man has proved a total failure. I found Ch. squatting with the infant between her thighs, on the floor of the hut, surrounded by yelling neighbors and being supported by two squaws who were sitting behind her with their arms around her waist, squeezing with all their might. Inquiry checked that the infant had been born near daylight that morning, but that the afterbirth had not yet arrived. The infant was lying in the shallow scooped out hole with the cord untied and yelling lustily. The day was hot, the flies were buzzing busily and the cord was beginning to rot and smell. Ch. was a mess of blood and dirt and utterly worn out. It was her first child. The medicine man was jumping up and down rattling his gourd and pandemonium was generally let loose. Finally we got every one out of the hut by the simple process of kicking them out, except the two attending squaws, the medicine man, the girl's father and two dogs. (C)

"Ch. had been a school girl and spoke good English. "Doctor" she wailed "do you have to cut me open?" Anyway, after getting the baby out of the way and cleaning things up as best we could, I went up after that afterbirth, which was found loose and merely stuck fast in the uterus, from which it was removed with a loud gurgling sound. (D)

"In five minutes it was over and Ch. relieved. Our medicine man remarked: "See many things, heap old man, never see nothing like that, all time before woman heap stink, by'm by die, God Almighty-Hell!" (E)

"Never afterwards have they failed to call me for a

bad case and fortunately most of their troubles are soon righted."

"Do not ever think that the Indian woman does not suffer. Ordinarily they suffer as much as white women do—but they are more quiet about it and their nerves do not give out so easily (36). Nevertheless a girl after an ordinary normal labor looks about 'done in'. Many of the women who now come to our little hospital and have twilight sleep tell me they used to dread it". (F)

"Out of fifteen births on the reservation last year, 13 were born in our little hospital and I looked after the other two at home."

"Their troubles are mostly long, hard labors, slow pains, retained afterbirths and hemorrhage. We had several breech-cases, (G) and a fall or two, but in 18 years we had only four cases of infection, none especially serious, and all lived. Only two women during my term of service have died in childbirth, one from hemorrhage and one from convulsion and in neither case was I called until just before death."

Dr. Nettle added, in private conversation, that the very prevalent hemorrhoids, which the Mohave attribute to rectal intercourse, are actually due to childbirth and to fatness. What Dr. Nettle did not say was that this phenomenal decrease of deaths in childbirth, of which the Mohave are well aware, was exclusively due to her own exemplary humanitarian devotion to duty.

Generally speaking, the Mohave feel that the observance of every single ritual, whether directly connected with childbirth or not, is of great importance for an easy childbirth. The old Mohave attribute the allegedly brief life span of the present generation to the neglect of taboos connected with childbirth and pregnancy. This neglect, whether due to extraneous circumstances or to a deliberate disregard for old customs, allegedly prevents the expulsion of the proper amount of blood during childbirth and causes the woman to become ill. Her ailment can be cured by a shaman specializing in the cure of the weylak group of diseases.

Shamanistic obstetrics, now obsolete as far as its practice is concerned, was a well developed branch of Mohave shamanism.

In aboriginal times the shaman was called in only after lay assistants had failed to bring relief to the parturating woman by means of the ordinary obstetric techniques, which were known to most adult women, and did not require supernatural powers. (26)

The following account of shamanistic obstetrics was written by Dr. Nettle (48) and was based on her personal observation of a shamanistic performance. It was, however, necessary to re-focus Dr. Nettle's presentation, by means of comments placed in brackets, since, due to her admirable and unselfish zeal in bringing Western medicine to the Mohave, her account of native shamanistic performances is a rather sarcastic and somewhat biased one. In fairness to Dr. Nettle it should be pointed out, however, that her account antedates certain recent scientific developments, which require that we reappraise the therapeutic effectiveness of shamanistic practices in the light of modern psychosomatic medicine.

"If anything goes wrong, then the trouble begins. First they all howl and then pour cold water on the unfortunate patient. (This is doubtful, since the Mohave think that cold water or weather complicate childbirth.) Then all the old women of the neighborhood come in. (This shows that, despite Dr. Nettle's aforementioned statements, no crowd gathers for normal childbirths.) They use whatever methods they have found efficient before in such cases, which are principally kneading the abdomen and limbs (?) (According to Hrdlicka (36) in case of severe distress, the woman is also examined internally) and yelling (Singing? — Laymen do *not* sing for therapeutic purposes.) If all this won't work and the poor woman still lives, they send for the medicine man (who should be a specialist in obstetrics), and the (now) assembled multitude, (needed to answer "Yes, Yes!" to the shaman's songs or speeches) including numerous cur dogs, howl (sing?) some more and beat gourds and blow

upon the patient. (Singing, rattling gourds, and blowing are standard features of shamanistic practice in general, though they were not mentioned in the accounts obtained by me. It should be realized, however, that every shaman has his own method and ritual. Dr. Nettle's account describes P.L.'s technique, whereas my own version, obtained from Ahma Huma:re, describes the method of my informant.) After this, in the course of time, if nature did not take a hand, the poor thing died and that settled the matter."

Two accounts of shamanistic obstetrics were recorded. The first version was obtained from the shaman Hivsu: Tupoma, who, though not an obstetrician, was unusually familiar, even for a "primitive" (13), with all aspects of his tribal culture. His account is based on direct observation.

Hivsu: Tupoma's Account: "The shaman will sit at a little distance from the woman and sing to the child with closed eyes. He will tell about the child and its development in the womb. If his power is good, between the third and fourth, or between the fourth and fifth (!) song, or even sooner, the child will be born. Haravi:ya (Whiskymouth) of Needles has this power, but few others have it." (The fifth song is probably the first of the cycle of four songs. The entire cycle is sung over and over again, until the performance is concluded. It is probable that this account describes the practices of Haravi:ya, a shaman, who lived at Needles, California, where my informant had spent his youth. Haravi:ya's own account of obstetrics was not obtained, since at the time of my visit to Needles, when I secured Haravi:ya's account of weylak and hiku:pk therapy, I did not know that, like Ahma Huma:re, he too had obstetric powers. In fact, there may be an implicit nexus of some kind between these two powers, since they both pertain to diseases connected with blood. The reasons why Hivsu: Tupoma did not mention Ahma Huma:re's obstetrical powers are rather obvious. Not only did the two men belong to two different "clubs" — (the Mohave apparently have two clubs of some kind) — but, furthermore, the two shamans had had some sort of disagreement about a

woman, who lived now with Ahma Huma:re and now with Hivsu: Tupo:ma. Another reason may be that Ahma Huma:re had received his obstetric powers after this type of shamanism had become obsolete.)

Ahma Huma:re's account: "I have certainly received this power and can help, but I have never been called upon to act as an obstetrician. Therefore I still have some doubts about the efficiency of my obstetric powers, and will continue to have doubts until I have tried them out. I have often been consulted for weylak, and hiku:pk, and am sure of my powers to cure those diseases." (This was an indirect allusion to one of his great triumphs, which occurred a few days earlier. He allegedly relieved the pains of a man dying from tuberculosis, who had been dismissed from the hospital as incurable, and who had been given up also by two other shamans, including Hivsu: Tupo:ma (15). "My power was given to me to help people. I cannot say whether it came to me in daytime or at night, because I do not know. I know, however, that it came to me in a dream (Day and night are the only time divisions that are ipa: (persons). They are sometimes important in determining the nature and strength of powers)."

"This is the origin of my powers: In a land west of here, at Amatavihamok, there was Motute ipa:, the Sky Male and Mokukumatä, the Earth Female. There were also Mastamho, Pahoteate, and all the others born from the union of the Sky and Earth. Only Matavilye acted as a child does in his mother's womb. He was lying transversally, he was lying feet first and buttocks first, even though he knew well how to do it the right way. Finally Matavilye decided to come out in the natural way, head first. Meanwhile Motute ipa: and Mokukumatä were under the earth."

"Thus the power has been given to me. Now I can do it. Now I can see a woman in hard labor and when I speak to her from a distance, in a language which one can understand, or in a language that cannot be understood, it would help her". (The remark about the "language that cannot be understood" may refer either to the use of archaic

Mohave words in the texts of songs, (40) or to the tendency to use not sentences but only important catch-words, (7). Such texts cannot be interpreted without the help of the singer himself.)

"There is no need to press the body of the patient, nor is it necessary to sing to her." (H)

"If I am to help the woman, I must call to her from various directions. The four directions of the compass are referred to as the four limbs. I will talk to the child from the South (right arm), from the West (left arm), from the North (left leg), and finally, from the East (right leg)". (This suggests a counter-clockwise march of the shaman, covering three quarters of a circle. He presumably completes the circle when he starts to repeat the cycle of songs.) (I)

"I will stand at each of the four cardinal points and talk to the child. I will ask it to come out the natural way. I will tell the child this: 'If you come out the right way, your example will be followed by the Mohave Indians and the race will increase. But if you do not come out, your bad example will be followed by future generations, and if all the children die at birth, there will be no generation to follow ours.' By the time I have talked to the child from all four directions, the child will be born, regardless of what the cause of the difficulty may have been."

This treatment, like many other pediatric procedures (20), appeals to the rationality, and to the nationalistic spirit of the unborn Mohave child. Indeed, according to Mohave belief, it would be useless to point out to a future shaman that, by refusing to be born, he would die, since that is precisely what he wishes to achieve through his behavior. Hence the Mohave shamanistic practitioner attempts to neutralize this tendency by stressing tribal loyalty and the ideal of tribal continuity, so important to the Mohave, who do not believe in the immortality of the soul. (J)

Since it was stated that obnoxious and lewd women usually bore their illegitimate children without the assistance of relatives and midwives, it was not possible to ascertain whether, in an emergency, they too would be able to secure

shamanistic obstetric assistance. Since the Mohave nation is both generous and kindly, one is probably justified in assuming that, in a real emergency, even the most obnoxious "kamalo:y" would be given some assistance.

Despite the belief that future shamans deliberately kill their mothers at birth, children whose mothers died in child-bed were never accused of having killed their mothers, and were not subjected to discriminatory or punitive treatment; "since that is their nature, they cannot help it." (12) The entire problem of the shaman's life-long suicidal impulses is discussed elsewhere (12, 47).

The Date of Birth. The Mohave do not attach any significance to the date of birth. If a child happens to be born during daytime, people may jocularly remark that it had been conceived during the day. Similar comments are made if the child happens to be born during the night. The Mohave remarked, however, that such comments are more or less humorous and gratuitous ones, "since no one really knows when a child was conceived." In the last section of this discussion I propose to show that this allegedly humorous remark — like so many witticisms (32) — actually reveals a rather important unconscious phantasy, about the nature of the birth process.

It sometimes happens that a domestic animal gives birth to its young at the same time as a woman bears her child. Such a coincidence is not believed to possess any significance. "People will merely remark that the woman gave birth at the same time as the bay mare did." "Yet it is somehow nice when it happens", a woman informant added rather wistfully. No special affinity is believed to exist between the infant and the animal that was born at the same time. There is likewise no affinity between two children born at the same time to two different mothers. This is in sharp contrast with the formal belief in the existence of a significant and lasting bond between twins (17), on the one hand, and, on the other hand, further underscores the Mohave Indian's lack of interest in the date of birth.

As already stated, women who bleed little at childbirth

"will miss only four, instead of from five to twelve, periods after giving birth. Such women will conceive another child rather soon, and will bear many children."

The maximum number of pregnancies, including those ending in stillbirths, is said to be ten. In support of this estimate one of my informants specifically mentioned a woman, none of whose ten pregnancies resulted in stillbirth, and none of whose children died shortly after birth. The average number of pregnancies was estimated to be four, and many women were known to have had only one or two pregnancies. Barrenness is a great affliction. Barren women are despised, and are frequently deserted and divorced. Hence even a male transvestite will, now and then, pretend to be pregnant. (11) Quarrelling women in particular are prone to use the expression "thou art barren" as a general form of "name-calling", in utter disregard of the fact that the woman accused of barrenness may have borne six children, while the accuser herself may have borne none.

Preparation for Motherhood. The Mohave Indian's reserved, and almost solemn, attitude toward procreation is radically different from the levity of his approach to the topic of sexual intercourse (22). "The Mohave do not like to talk about pregnancy and childbirth, and do not even care to listen to discussions of this kind." This statement applies only to gratuitous talk about childbirth, however. Factually accurate instruction, covering the entire range of Mohave knowledge and belief concerning sex and maternity, was deemed to be an essential part of every young girl's education. Even the youngest children received full and frank replies to their questions about sex and reproduction, since only in this manner could they acquire the necessary knowledge of customs and observances pertaining to reproduction, which was one of the few ritualized phases of the Mohave life cycle. The Mohave were quite emphatic in their belief that truth cannot harm anyone, and pointed out that only accurate knowledge could safeguard the individual from miscellaneous natural, supernatural and social dangers connected with sex and reproduction. Hence the

Mohave did not think it necessary to devise "stork mythologies" for the "protection" of those "two young to know". (13) Those among them who had heard of White "stork" or "doctor's black bag" birth theories for the young, declared that they were both amazed by, and contemptuous of, such "foolishness." In this respect, as in all other respects, Mohave educational practice fully substantiates Lowie's opinion (45) that, as civilization increases in complexity, the treatment of children becomes increasingly barbarous and unenlightened. The average Mohave Indian's psychosexual maturity furthermore raises grave doubts about the absolute validity of a dictum, current in certain psychoanalytic circles, that children who are not instinctually frustrated are uneducable. It is probably true enough that children cannot be "educated", without instinctual frustration, for life in a kind of "civilization" which Ernest Jones has rightly described as a pre-genital, and predominantly anal one. (37) On the other hand it seems open to doubt that instinctual frustration is truly a *sine qua non* requirement in the education of children for life as human beings in a democracy made for human beings.

SOME PSYCHOANALYTIC INTERPRETATIONS.

Psychoanalysis has shown that children attempt to solve the mystery of procreation by means of elaborate and phantastic theories, commonly spoken of as infantile theories of birth. (34) When the child is finally informed of the true "facts of life", he usually represses these phantasies and replaces them in his conscious mind with the prevailing "scientific" theory of procreation. These repressed phantasies do not cease to exist, however. They continue to lurk in the unconscious of the adult, and indirectly motivate many of his affective attitudes toward procreation.

Since it is admittedly true that adult interference with the child's "epistemophilic" (39) activities is *partly* responsible for this state of affairs, it is rather important to investigate whether or not the Mohave, whose sexual enlightenment is not artificially delayed, and some of whose

theories of gestation are reasonably close to scientifically established facts (24), also tend to develop such phantastic theories of birth. Such an inquiry is justified by the well-established observation that, in our own society, the children of enlightened parents often refuse to believe the scientifically accurate information imparted to them by their elders, and, instead of accepting these facts, repeatedly "forget" (i.e. repress) them, and persistently cling to their infantile theories of birth.

The point of departure of my discussion is Ahma Huma:re's account of the mythical precedent of childbirth.

The Identity of the Supernaturals mentioned in Ahma Huma:re's account is of particular interest in this context. Mokukumatä may, according to Bourke (5) be a Mohave replica of Gucumatz, the Feathered Serpent of the Indians of Mexico. The Sky-Earth parentage of Matavilye is also mentioned by Russell (52), and may, hence, be thought of as a well established tenet of Mohave theogony. According to Ahma Huma:re, Mastamho and Pahoteate are Matavilye's brothers. According to most informants, however, Matavilye is the father of Mastamho (2), whom several informants also equated with Pahoteate. If these latter identifications are correct, we are confronted with the paradoxical assertion that Matavilye's own sons were present at their father's birth from the womb of their grandmother Mokukumatä. In connection with this reversal of the generations, we should mention that a Mohave man sometimes divorces a flighty young wife and marries his former mother-in-law, who will attempt to hold the affections of her young husband by catering to his needs and comforts. (16) We have also mentioned above that whenever the mother dies at birth, the surviving infant will be suckled either by its grandmother, or else by its older sister (20). In brief, the Mohave tend to bridge and scramble generations, both in marriage and in the nursing of orphans. Phantasies concerning the reversal of generations are also known to psychoanalysts. (37)

In summary, this segment of Ahma Huma:re's account

exemplifies phantasies of the reversal of generations. The occurrence of this phantasy will enable us to obtain a deeper insight into the meaning of the obscure and unexplained remark that, during Matavilye's birth, both the Sky and the Earth were "under the earth".

We must therefore attempt to discover precisely what Motute-ipa: and Mokukumatā were doing under the earth at the time of Matavilye's birth.

Bourke (5), who also reported this incident, as part of a myth, states that the Mohave attribute the labor-pains of women to the fact that Matavilye's birth was accompanied by earthquakes. This belief, together with the theory that Matavilye refused, at first, to emerge from the womb, shows that the Mohave conceive of childbirth as a traumatic and almost cataclysmic event. This interpretation is further supported by our previous analysis of the practice of feeding the meat of a stallion to women approaching the time of their confinement. Summing up, the Mohave appear to believe that some children do not wish to be borne, and must be expelled from the womb by somewhat violent means. We must examine then certain means of dislodging from the womb a child who refuses to be born.

We have already mentioned that the Mohave are careful not to copulate too violently with a pregnant woman lest the thrusts of the penis should dislodge or injure the child. (24). We have also shown that the meat of a stallion is a symbolic substitute for the intruding paternal penis, which dislodges the infant from the womb. The infantile birth theory, that children are dislodged from the womb through the intrusion of the paternal penis, has also been recorded by psychoanalysts working with patients belonging to Western civilization. (38, 42).

One is therefore tempted to assume that the reference to the Sky-Male and the Earth-Female being under the earth suggests that Sky-Male and Earth-Female were copulating at the time of Matavilye's birth.

We now propose to present data militating both for and against this interpretation of the statement under study.

(I) *Data supporting this interpretation:*

(1) The theory that the paternal penis can damage the unborn child.

(2) The practice of eating the meat of a stallion when confinement seems imminent.

(3) It was stated above that, according to the Mohave, the evil power of a witch, like the related beneficial power of the shamanistic obstetrician, "goes like a beam through the womb and the child". If we assume that both the evil and the good shaman, as well as the Sky-Male, are symbols of the "ogre-like potent father" (22), and if we equate birth with destruction (i.e. either with death at birth, or with the destruction of prenatal "intrauterine bliss" at birth), we may interpret this belief as a manifestation of the father's ambivalent feelings toward a potential, though as yet unborn, rival for his wife's affections. This interpretation would be a particularly convincing one, were it possible to take for granted the belief, quoted by Dr. Nettle (48), but denied by all of my informants, that the presence of the father causes obstetrical difficulties.

(II) *Data militating against this interpretation:*

(1) Argument No. 3 in favor of this interpretation is greatly weakened by the fact that, even though the Mohave feel that life is, and should be, patterned upon mythical precedents, the presence of the father and of the unborn child's male siblings, is not merely not mandatory when a child is about to be born, but is even more or less prohibited.

(2) Should the statement under study mean that Sky-Male and Earth-Female were engaging in intercourse at the time of Matavilye's birth, a duplication of the mythical precedent would make parental coitus mandatory at the time of confinement. (It should be remembered in this context that orgasmic uterine contractions duplicate the uterine contractions of childbirth. Coitus, when performed toward the end of pregnancy, may act as a trigger mechanism, and elicit premature birth-pangs.) Yet Mohave custom prohibits intercourse with the parturating woman.

(3) The Mohave are extremely fond of children, and

few men ever repudiate the paternity of a full blood Mohave child. (21) This statement is not meant to imply the absence of a certain amount of ambivalent feelings in the prospective father. Mohave ambivalence toward newborn infants is quite evident in their dual and incompatible beliefs about twins (17). It must be admitted, however, that the birth of twins creates special problems of adjustment for all and sundry, and that the early death of one or both twins is in consequence rather systematically attributed to parental neglect. It is also rather interesting to note that the Mohave Indian's attitude toward twins is not very different from his equally ambivalent attitude toward the greatly honored, and yet feared and resented, dead. (9)

(4) Paternal hostility toward unborn children, viewed as prospective rivals, is also decreased by the specific structure of Mohave libidinal economy. In the last resort a wife is seldom thought of as a permanent and reliable love-object, whereas every Mohave knows that his children can be relied upon to take care of him in his old age. (14, 16, 18). Hence the Mohave seems to have a greater libidinal investment in his children than in his wife.

Summing up, the statement in question cannot be conclusively shown to mean that the Mohave believe that, at the time of Matavilye's birth, Sky-Male and Earth-Female had *actually* engaged in intercourse. It must be admitted, however, that my reluctance to consider this interpretation as proven may be due to my skepticism, — also shared by Ferenczi (29), — of too finely spun psychoanalytic interpretations of *myths*, as distinct from a subtle interpretation of the *actual dreams* of patients, since in the latter case one can test and supplement every interpretation through further associations, as well as through an observation of the patient's affective reactions to the interpretation.

Yet the above analysis of this statement, while forcing us to reject the simple interpretation that Sky-Male and Earth-Female were *actually* copulating at the time of Matavilye's birth, compels us to investigate the possibility that Sky-Male and Earth-Female were *figuratively speaking*

engaging in intercourse. I now propose to show that this interpretation may be presumed to be the correct one.

The most rewarding line of inquiry is probably one which takes as its point of departure the intrauterine psychic life imputed by the Mohave to the unborn future shaman. Every shaman alleges that, while *in utero*, the Creators re-enacted, for his enlightenment and benefit, the entire drama of creation. Whenever a shaman narrates the story of creation, he tends to remark, with an air of deep and sincere conviction: "I saw it. I was there." (40) These alleged intrauterine experiences play so important a role in the shaman's life, that one could define a shaman as a person who has witnessed the drama of creation, *and remembers it*.

Our next task is therefore to ascertain the real meaning of the drama of creation, which the shaman is alleged to have witnessed *in utero*. Psychoanalysis has repeatedly shown that ruminative preoccupations with creation, the origin of things, and with what is known as "status nascendi" (1), are disguised manifestations of infantile curiosity about the origin of babies in general, and about one's own coming into being in special. In brief, this preoccupation is believed to be a sublimated form of scopophilia. These psychoanalytic insights appear to be applicable also to the Mohave Indians. The tales of the Mohave (25), as well as those of the kindred Yuma (50), contain passages which reproduce in an almost undisguised form a phantasy in which the foetus, safely ensconced in the womb, observes the threatening penetration of the paternal penis into the mother's vagina, and successfully destroys this "gigantic weapon."

Hence it seems plausible that Ahma Humare's puzzling statement does not imply that Sky and Earth were actually engaged in coitus at the time of Matavilye's birth. It merely suggests that Sky and Earth re-enacted, for Matavilye's benefit, the drama of his own creation. This interpretation fully explains why both Sky and Earth were said to have been "under the earth", which statement, if

taken literally, would mean that the Earth-Female was actually in her own womb, which is obviously nonsense.

The belief that all human life duplicates a mythical precedent, implies, then, that the unborn child witnesses *in utero* his own creation, although only future shamans will "remember" having witnessed this event.

The above interpretation, while plausible enough in its present form, can be further strengthened by examining various other aspects of Mohave psychology and belief.

(1) *Scotophilia*. The above interpretation imputes a high degree of visual sexual curiosity to the Mohave Indian. We must therefore list some evidence in support of our imputation of this character-trait to the Mohave Indians.

(a) The Mohave consider it great sport to "sneak up" on copulating couples and to watch their performance of the sexual act. (22) This constant spying, which is not motivated by prurient puritanism, but by a conscious quest for sexual thrills, indicates that even those Mohave who have repressed all memory of having witnessed the primal scene, are still haunted by it. Hence spying upon the sexual acts of others is a substitute for spying upon one's parents.

(b) Every Mohave child has ample opportunities for witnessing parental intercourse. The one-room Mohave house affords little sexual privacy, and the Mohave do not bother to conceal their sexual acts from unweaned infants and toddlers less than 3 years of age. This may explain the Mohave belief, that, whenever nursing is interrupted by a new pregnancy, the unweaned child, who is allegedly aware of the presence of an intruder in the maternal womb, resents his mother's new pregnancy and makes himself ill from spite. (20)

(c) According to Roheim, the kindred Yuma (50) believe that children who have witnessed parental intercourse tend to be intelligent. The Mohave, in turn, remark that children are supposed to find out for themselves precisely how sexual intercourse is performed.

(d) It is well known, of course, that the primal scene severely traumatizes the child, and that almost all

human beings repress the fact that they had witnessed it. The shaman, however, apparently uses a distinctive form of repression, and "remembers" the primal scene as an intrauterine re-enactment of the creation of the world.

(2) *The Primal Scene as One's Own Coming Into Being.*

Our discussion of Mohave scopophilia suggests that the Mohave — and especially the Mohave shaman — tends to imagine that, in witnessing the primal scene, he is witnessing his own creation. This inference must therefore be substantiated by means of Mohave data.

It was stated above that the Mohave child has especially good opportunities of witnessing sexual relations between his parents, or parent-surrogates, and that the adult Mohave, in spying on the sexual acts of others, probably attempts to re-experience the witnessing of parental coitus. This fact, together with the alleged resentment of the unweaned child toward the foetus which has intruded into the womb formerly occupied by itself, suggests that the primal scene — and, by extension, every witnessed sexual act — is unconsciously interpreted as the re-enactment of one's own conception. So I suggest that one of the broadest meanings of the primal scene is the phantasy that one witnesses one's own coming into being. Such a phantasy would seem particularly convincing to the Mohave, since it tallies with their belief that all human actions are, by definition, repetitions of, and patterned upon, a mythical precedent, i.e. the drama of creation.

(3) *The Reversal of Generations* has already been discussed above, in connection with the presence of Matavilye's sons at their father's birth. The psychological aspects of the reversal of the generations have been analysed by Jones.

(37) The idea that newborn children are reincarnations of dead persons is known to occur in many primitive societies. One of the most prevalent beliefs is that the child is a reincarnation of one of its grandparents. Beliefs of this type are known to occur also among the Mohave. One of the two mutually incompatible sets of beliefs concerning twins predicates that twins are the reincarnation of dead persons.

(17) According to the other set of beliefs, twins are a human incarnation of eternal heavenly beings. (17). In accordance with these beliefs, even newborn twins are addressed, and spoken of, as *old* persons, rather than as merely adult ones. Now, it is of great importance in this context to realize that, in Mohave society, the dead person is, *by definition*, the grandparent. The kinship terms "grandfather!", and "grandmother!", when used with an exclamatory inflection of the voice, are considered to be grave insults, since these exclamations constitute a breach of the rule which prohibits references to another person's dead relatives. (20, 40). It is hence legitimate to suggest tentatively, that newborn twins, at least, are thought of as the parents of their parents, or, in other words, as their own grandparents. At the same time one cannot refrain from wondering whether this belief is restricted to twins only, or whether it is extended — at least unconsciously — to other children as well. Be that as it may, the above considerations tend to decrease our amazement at seeing Matavilye's sons present at their father's birth.

It was thought desirable to use only Mohave data in our initial attempt to confer the status of a working hypothesis upon this interpretation. Now that this task has been accomplished, we propose to strengthen this interpretation by means of additional references to non-Mohave data.

(a) It is well known that many primitive tribes have so-called "classificatory" kinship systems, which lump together various relatives, whom "descriptive" kinship systems designate by different terms. It is important to realize in this context that the lumping together of various relatives specifically implies the social and functional equivalence of these relatives. Thus, in societies which believe that the child is a reincarnation of its own grandparent, the child is frequently treated with great respect. (We have already stated that the Mohave treat newborn twins as old persons.) It is furthermore rather important to realize that this mode of classifying relatives is accepted psychologically not merely with regard to others, but also with regard to oneself. An

Indochinese Moi girl, who was the subsidiary wife of her cousin's husband, replied to my inquiry concerning possible jealousies between the two wives with the remark: "How could I be jealous? She is the same person as I am."

(b) It is a rather widespread practice in America to give children "family names", and more especially the names of their grandparents. The mother's maiden name (i.e. the name of her father) usually becomes the middle name of the child.

Summing up, Mohave data suggests that a psychological reversal of the generations appears to be at least compatible with Mohave belief.

(4) *Identification and Counteridentification...* It is a well known fact that parents are prone to think of their children as an extension of their own selves, (8) and that the wish to procreate a child is often consciously motivated by the desire to bring into being a replica of one's self. This wish obviously implies that the parent identifies himself with the child. Less obviously, but equally plainly, it also implies that, in wishing to produce a replica of his own self, the parent is identifying himself with *his own* parent, who produced the original edition of this self, i. e. one's own self. In simpler language, couples who engage in intercourse for the purpose of procreating a child, appear to imitate the sex act of their own parents, who procreated them. This interpretation is considerably strengthened by the psychoanalytic theory that spouses, rather than mere casual sex-objects, tend to be identified with the parent of the opposite sex. (29, 34)

Summing up, there is evidence tending to suggest an identification of the child with the parent, and of the parent with the child.

The next logical step is a demonstration of the presence of such identification in Ahma Huma:re's own psyche.

(a) Ahma Huma:re did not develop an interest in obstetrics until after the death of his wife and unborn child.

(b) In order to obtain obstetrical powers, he had to

"dream" that part of the drama of creation which pertains to obstetrics.

(c) This dream had to elicit a feeling of *deja vu*, or of *deja eprouve* (29, 34). This feeling had to be rationalized by asserting that he had already seen this drama in his mother's womb. It is by means of this regression that Ahma Huma:re is able to identify himself with the unborn child.

(d) The regressive nature of this experience is further substantiated by the fact that this experience enabled Ahma Huma:re to acquire new shamanistic powers, i.e. obstetrical powers. According to psychoanalytic theory, shamanistic "powers" are derived from infantile fantasies of omnipotence (33), which, in turn, are thought to be rooted in the wishless ("omnipotent") state of the child in the womb. (28).

(e) In obstetric therapy, as well as in malevolent obstetric witchcraft — which are but the two facets of one and the same power (12) — the "power" of the shaman is said to "go like a beam through the womb and through the fetus." In other words, a "part" of the shaman joins the child in the uterus.

(f) The mechanism of identification is particularly clear in cases of obstetric witchcraft. All shamans, and especially evil shamans, are credited with death-wishes, and are said to have been born against their will. (This belief is psychologically interesting, since shamans are persons who have culturally standardized fantasies of omnipotence). It is highly significant that, in obstetric witchcraft, the witch "teaches the child the trick meaning death. He teaches it how to resist being born." In other words the witch causes the unborn child to behave as he himself behaved when he was born. This belief indicates a high degree of identification, and presupposes a corresponding counter-identification.

(g) The "good" shaman also identifies himself with his ancestors. Since the Creators re-enacted the drama of creation for his benefit, he recites the drama of creation for the benefit of the unborn child. (The identity of myth and drama, or ritual, was proven by the French sociologists, and by Malinowski (46) as well.) By means of this recitation

his power now penetrates the womb of his patient, just as the Creators once penetrated into his mother's pregnant womb, in order to re-enact the drama of creation.

(h) All beings, past and future, were present while the actual drama of creation was unfolding itself. Hence, when the drama of creation is re-enacted in the womb of the shaman's mother, the re-enacting would be incomplete were the shaman's own parents absent from his mother's womb. This interpretation sheds additional light on the puzzling assertion that, at the time of Matavilye's birth, both *motute ipa*: and *Mokukumatä* were under the earth.

(5) *Power and Phallus*. It is a psychoanalytic truism that the soul, as well as magical "powers", are, psychologically speaking, phallic equivalents. If this theory is correct, Ahma Huma:re's remark "The power of the shaman goes like a beam through the womb and through the child" acquires a new significance. If the drama of creation is the drama of one's own creation, then the puzzling behavior of Sky-Male and Earth-Female, and the magic of the obstetrician as well as that of the witch, are *perhaps* likewise variations on the same theme. A proof of this tentative hypothesis would require, however, a complete psychoanalytic study of several Mohave shamans.

(6) *Birth and Coitus*. Psychoanalysis has revealed certain unconscious phantasies tending to establish an intimate psychological nexus between childbirth and coitus. Some of these phantasies are characteristically feminine ones, while others occur chiefly in men.

(I) Male Phantasies: Pregnancy and Coitus.

Ferenczi (30), as well as other psychoanalysts, have suggested that since some persons tend to project themselves into the phallus during intercourse, coitus may sometimes be unconsciously interpreted as a partial attempt to return into the womb. Ferenczi (30) also adds that men are especially prone to imagine that the child is an extension of the phallus.

We suggest that the Mohave have similar phantasies, which are expressed in culturally standardized beliefs con-

cerning rivalries for the possession of the maternal womb.

(a) We have already shown that, according to Mohave belief, the foetus may be expelled from the womb either through an intrusion of the phallus, or else through the eating of stallion-meat, which is a phallus-surrogate. Many primitives (55), as well as certain mammals, do not copulate with pregnant or lactating females. These practices may perhaps express an unconscious belief that women may not harbor simultaneously a penis and a foetus as well. This phantasy, in turn, may be partly responsible for the well-known unconscious tendency to equate the penis with the foetus.

(b) The Mohave furthermore believe that children, who are weaned because of the advanced pregnancy of the mother, tend to resent the intrusion of a "stranger" into what they still consider to be their "own" womb. (20) The imputation of a resentment toward the foetus may perhaps be a culturally standardized attempt to disguise the child's resentment toward the male who has impregnated the lactating mother, and has thereby compelled her to wean the child. According to Reheim (51) the father's sexual demands upon the mother are partly responsible for infantile separation-anxieties and hence for the Oedipus complex.

All of these beliefs show a tendency to equate the womb with the vagina. Hence the occurrence of rivalries for the possession of the woman's reproductive organs tends to suggest that the phantasies described by Ferenczi also occur among the Mohave Indians.

(II) Female Phantasies: Birth and the Termination of Coitus.

(1) Several psychoanalytic writers (8) have shown that women sometimes phantasy that every sexual act will impregnate them, and hence tend to view childbirth, rather than orgasm or the withdrawal of the penis, as the "natural" (i.e. psychological) conclusion of coitus.

(2) Numerous psychoanalysts (8, 43, 56) have shown that some women resent the withdrawal of the penis because it exacerbates their castration anxieties, and reconcile them-

selves to the loss of the penis only by imagining that the foetus conceived during the sexual act is the equivalent of the penis. This is one of the psychological roots of the well-known child-penis equation.

We now propose to investigate whether or not these phantasies also occur in Mohave society.

(1') Data tending to suggest that Mohave women view childbirth as the "natural" conclusion of coitus are exceedingly scanty, and inconclusive, and do not enable us either to confirm or to deny the occurrence of such phantasies among Mohave women. The only relevant bit of evidence is the remark that children born at night were conceived during the night, while children born during daytime resulted from intercourse performed during daytime. The fact that this remark is an admittedly humorous one tends, however, to increase, rather than to decrease the probability that this quip may be actually indicative of the presence of such phantasies. The observation that this phantasy can only be expressed in a humorous form suggests that it is a severely repressed one, which can reach consciousness only if it is disguised as a witticism. (32) The principal force responsible for this deep repression may be the Mohave tendency to differentiate affectively between coitus, which is consistently thought of as a pleasurable and somewhat humorous act, and childbirth, which, due its importance for tribal survival, is thought of as a momentous and grave event. Summing up, the available data, while inconclusive, do not exclude the possibility that Mohave women, at least, may tend to think of childbirth as the "natural" culmination of coitus.

(a) The Mohave women are somewhat ambivalent in their attitude toward prolonged coitus. On the one hand they resent the standard practice of Mohave males, who withdraw the penis as soon as they have had an orgasm and who think it preposterous and almost revolting that a man should leave his penis in the vagina after achieving an orgasm (22). A Mohave woman's vagina emitted gurgling sounds after coitus, indicating a continuation of vaginal

contractions. Two of them reacted to withdrawal of the penis from their anus by defecating upon the penis (22) and one spat out the semen after fellatio (20). They are also highly contemptuous of the relatively brief sex act of White men. (22, 23) On the other hand they pretend to fear the huge penis of White males (22, 23) and allegedly view the excessive sexual demands of some men as a form of cruelty (22). At the same time a Mohave woman was obviously pleased when her elderly White customer engaged in prolonged coitus, (23) though it is highly important to remember in this context that this woman was a kamalo:y, i.e. a prostitute with a "phallic" personality-makeup. (23). Summing up, the evidence suggests that Mohave women tend to resent the withdrawal of the penis.

(b) The occurrence of unconscious phantasies equating childbirth and withdrawal of the penis cannot be proven, unless one is able to show that the Mohave Indian's insistence on a prompt withdrawal of the penis is related in some way to his interest in a rapid and smooth delivery. Unfortunately we possess no *explicit* data suggesting an unconscious relationship of this type. There are, however, certain meager, and somewhat inconclusive data, which do not permit us to discard this hypothesis entirely.

Bose believes that *coitus reservatus* tends to diminish orgasmic pleasure and is indulged in by males with passive feminine identifications. (4) Taking this hypothesis as our point of departure, we propose to discover whether or not the same individuals are credited with proclivities toward *coitus reservatus* as well as with a tendency to be born only after prolonged labor.

Diminished orgasmic pleasure. Mohave shamans are especially prone to engage in real incest, (12, 15) as well as in dream-incest with the ghosts of their relatives whom they have bewitched in preference to other victims. (12). They are also addicted to bestiality (12) as well as to other deviant sexual activities. This behavior clearly indicates that the Mohave shaman does not derive an adequate amount of pleasure from ordinary intercourse. Similar orgasmic dis-

turbances are also characteristic of the obnoxious and promiscuous kamalo:y (23). The fact that Mohave women seem to resent the prompt withdrawal of the penis, and other data as well, suggest that, despite their orgasmic potency, some Mohave women do not reach orgasm as rapidly as do males.

Passive-feminine identification. The Mohave believe that a shaman whose power comes from the Ancestors is more powerful than a shaman whose power was given to him by the Gods. A homosexual shaman is believed to be more powerful than a heterosexual one (11), and a female shaman more powerful than a male one. The fact that Mohave shamans cure by sucking and by the use of saliva (12, 40, 50), indicates strong oral trends. The use of saliva in witchcraft (12) is, in turn, indicative of oral aggressions against the mother, since witches tend to victimize principally their own relatives. At the end of his life the witch either submits stoically and passively to being killed (12, 40), or else openly dares the *male* relatives of his victims (who are also, as a rule, his own relatives) to kill him (12, 40). These facts, while not altogether conclusive, tend to suggest passive feminine identifications in the shaman. Despite the fact that a certain type of urethral eroticism is usually associated with *ejaculatio praecox* (1, 27, 29), the urethral-urinary exhibitionism of shamans (12) does not contradict the hypothesis that shamans engage in *coitus reservatus*, since already Abraham (1) has revealed the deep nexus between *ejaculatio praecox* and *coitus reservatus*, which sometimes actually co-exist, as alternate symptoms. (For example *coitus reservatus* may be performed with "legitimate" sex-objects, and *ejaculatio praecox* may occur in hasty, socially prohibited sexual relations.) The strong oral fixations of shamans, especially since they are associated with urethral exhibitionism, would provide a particularly suitable psychic under-structure for the occurrence of prolonged coitus. (3) While the above considerations are not wholly implausible, they must be explicitly labelled as speculations, since I have failed to ascertain whether the

Mohave shaman's proverbial "contrariness" (12) also includes a tendency to prolong coitus unduly and to violate habitually the rule that the penis should be withdrawn immediately after the climax.

Prolonged labor and delayed orgasm. We have seen that it is not altogether illegitimate to suppose that shamans tend to engage in *coitus reservatus*, or that they are at least slow to reach orgasm and, under normal circumstances, do not find it to be a wholly satisfactory experience. We have likewise indicated that women are probably somewhat slower than men are in reaching orgasm, and that they tend to resent the withdrawal of the penis. We likewise know that, according to the Mohave, it is harder to give birth to a girl than to a boy, (36) and that shamans are always born only after prolonged labor. In other words, Mohave belief imputes a slow and laborious delivery precisely to those persons who, if our data and speculations are at all valid, are slow to reach orgasm.

Whether or not the above considerations suffice to raise the inference that the Mohave unconsciously connect delayed withdrawal of the penis with protracted labor, to the status of a working hypothesis is open to debate. On the other hand it seemed legitimate to raise the question, as long as all speculations were explicitly labelled as such.

Summary: An examination of Mohave belief and practices concerning childbirth revealed that a number of interpretations, originally formulated on the basis of the psychoanalytic study of European and American analysands, appear to shed some light also on Mohave Indian psychodynamics. At the same time it is felt that the psychoanalytic study of the reproductive process in other cultures is considerably less advanced at present than is the comparative, cross-cultural study of psychosexual developmental stages. To the best of the writer's belief, the present study is the first psychoanalytic investigation of primitive obstetrics.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y .

1. Abraham, K. *Selected Papers on Psycho-Analysis*. London 1927
2. Allen, G. H. Manners and Customs of the Mohaves. *Smithsonian Institute, Annual Report*. 1890, Washington 1891. Pp. 615-616
3. Bergler, E. Further Observation on the Clinical picture of "Psychogenic Oral Aspermia". *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*. 18:196,234, 1937
4. Bose, G. The Duration of Coitus. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 18:235-255, 1937
5. Bourke, J. G. Notes on the Cosmogony and Theogony of the Mojave Indians of the Rio Colorado. *Journal of American Folklore* 2:169-189, 1889
6. Briehl, W. & Kulka, E. W. Lactation in a Virgin. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 4:484-512, 1935
7. Densmore, F. Yuman and Yaqui Music. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 110. Washington, D. C. 1932
8. Deutsch, H. *The Psychology of Women*. 2 vols. New York 1944
9. Devereux, G. Mohave Soul Concepts. *American Anthropologist* n. s. 39:417-422, 1937
10. Devereux, G. Der Begriff der Vaterschaft bei den Mohave Indianern. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 69:72-78, 1947
11. Devereux, G. Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians. *Human Biology* 9:498-527, 1947
12. Devereux, G. L'Envoûtement chez les Indiens Mohave. *Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris* n.s. 29: 405-412, 1938
13. Devereux, G. A Sociological Theory of Schizophrenia. *Psychoanalytic Review* 26:315-342, 1939
14. Devereux, G. Mohave Culture and Personality. *Character and Personality* 8:91-109, 1939
15. Devereux, G. The Social and Cultural Implications of Incest Among the Mohave Indians. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 8:510-533, 1939

16. Devereux, G. Primitive Psychiatry Pt. I. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 8:1194-1213, 1940
17. Devereux, G. Mohave Beliefs Concerning Twins. *American Anthropologist* n.s. 43:573-592, 1941
18. Devereux, G. Social Structure and the Economy of Affective Bonds. *Psychoanalytic Review* 29:303-314, 1942
19. Devereux, G. The Logical Foundations of Culture and Personality Studies. *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*. Series II.7:110-130, 1945
20. Devereux, G. Mohave Orality. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 16:519-546, 1947
21. Devereux, G. Mohave Indian Infanticide. *Psychoanalytic Review* 35:126-139, 1948
22. Devereux, G. Heterosexual Behavior of the Mohave Indians. (in) Rohem, G. (ed) *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*. Vol. II. (In Press)
23. Devereux, G. The Mohave Indian Kamalo:y. *Journal of Clinical Psychopathology* (In Press)
24. Devereux, G. Mohave Pregnancy. (In Press)
25. Devereux, G. Mohave Coyote Tales. *Journal of American Folklore* (In Press)
26. Drucker, P. Culture Element Distributions XVII: Yuman-Piman. *Anthropological Records* 6:vi 91-230, Berkeley, California, 1941
27. Fenichel, O. *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*. New York, 1945
28. Ferenczi, S. *Contributions to Psycho-Analysis*, Boston, 1916
29. Ferenczi, S. *Further Contributions to the Theory and Technique of Psycho-Analysis*. London, 1926
30. Ferenczi, S. *Thalassa. A Theory of Genitality*. Albany, New York, 1938
31. Forde, C. D. Ethnography of the Yuma Indians. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 28:83-278, Berkeley, California, 1931
32. Freud, S. *Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious*. New York, 1917

33. Freud, S. *Totem and Taboo*. New York, 1918
34. Freud, S. *Collected Papers*, 4 vols. London, 1924
35. Gifford, E. W. Northeastern and Western Yavapai. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 34:247-354, Berkeley, California, 1936
36. Hrdlicka, A. Physiological and Medical Observations Among the Indians of Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 34, Washington, D. C., 1908
37. Jones, E. *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*. (3rd ed.) New York, 1923
38. Jones, E. The Phallic Phase. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 14:1-33, 1933
39. Klein, M. *The Psycho-Analysis of Children*. London, 1932
40. Kroeber, A. L. Handbook of the Indians of California. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 78, Washington, D. C., 1925
41. Kroeber, A. L. (ed) Walapai Ethnography. *American Anthropological Association Memoir* 42. Menasha, Wisconsin, 1935
42. Lewin, B. D. Claustrophobia. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 4:227-233, 1935
43. Lorand, S. Contribution to the Problem of Vaginal Orgasm. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 20: 432-438, 1939
44. Lowie, R. H. Incorporeal Property in Primitive Society. *Yale Law Journal* 37:551-563, 1928
45. Lowie, R. H. *Are We Civilized?* New York, 1929
46. Malinowski, B. *Myth in Primitive Psychology*. New York 1926
47. Menninger, K. A. An Anthropological Note on the Theory of Prenatal Instinctual Conflict. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 20:439-442, 1939
48. Nettle, M. A. I. *Mohave Women*. MS. of a lecture. Parker, Arizona, n.d.

49. Ploss, H. and Bartels, M. & H. *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*. (11th ed. by F. V. Reitzenstein) 3 vols. Berlin, 1927
50. Roheim, G. Psycho-Analysis of Primitive Cultural Types. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 13:1-224, 1932
51. Roheim, G. *The Eternal Ones of the Dream*. New York, 1945
52. Russell, F. The Pima Indians. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report* 26:3-389, 1908
53. Spier, L. Havasupai Ethnography. *American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers* 29: 81-392, 1928
54. Spier, L. *Yuman Tribes of the Gila River*, Chicago, 1933
55. Thomas, W. I. *Primitive Behavior*. New York, 1937
56. Zilboorg, G. Some Observations on the Transformation of Instincts. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 7:1-24, 1938

(A) The winter-houses were said to be replicas of the first house, constructed by the God Mastamho on the magic mountain Avikwame. They were usually about ten feet long and eight feet wide. A door, about three feet in width, was at the center of one of the long walls. The floor was sometimes excavated, so that it was below the natural level of the rest of the terrain. The entire building was supported by the four corner-posts, a center pole, and by the two posts forming the door-frame. A number of subsidiary vertical poles supported horizontally placed branches of arrowweed. The interstices of this lattice were packed with clay. The main posts rose six feet above the ground, and the walls were said to be six inches in thickness, which seems to be an understatement. The main posts also supported the roof, which consisted of a number of horizontal poles, on which additional poles were placed in such a manner as to form a slightly slanting skeleton framework for the actual roofing, which was composed of layers of adobe clay. A curtain, made of the braided inner bark of the willow, hung in the doorway. Three feet from the door a fire was burning from approximately four o'clock in the morning, until seven o'clock in the evening. A typical cross-section of such a house was published by Bourke. (5) Despite their mythical origin, these houses were lay buildings, and their construction did not require any ritual observances.

(B) The casual remark of the anthropologist that his mother had a hard time giving birth to him confirmed the Mohave in their belief that he was at least a potential shaman. This belief was further sub-

stantiated by the fact that the anthropologist was, at that time, studying their sexual mores, which caused them to infer that, like their own shamans, the anthropologist was well informed about sexual matters.

(C) It is interesting that, despite the hot weather, the delivery took place in the house. Ch.'s school education may have been responsible for this unusual, but well ascertained, circumstance.

(D) It should be pointed out that Ch. is the woman whose vagina was later on reported to be prone to make gurgling sounds after intercourse. (22)

(E) It doubt that any **Mohave** ever talked this kind of Indian English.

(F) Compare, above, the custom demanding stoicism during labor pains.

(G) Compare, above, the denial of breech-cases. The denials obviously refer to aboriginal times only.

(H) Ahma Huma:re explained that whenever the traditional songs are lost, speechmaking may replace singing, since neither the literal text of the songs, nor the music have any inherent therapeutic value. Only three things are indispensable: The shaman must have received the appropriate powers, he must describe the development of the foetus in the womb, and mention the example set by Matavilye. He added that prospective shamans learn their songs by listening to other shamans, but that they are not permitted to sing them until they have received the appropriate powers in dream. Should a mere layman presume to sing a shaman's songs, the latter would promptly bewitch him, to punish him for trespassing on the intangible property of shamans. (44)

(I) It is important to note that this is the first known reference to anything at all being associated with the four cardinal directions among the River Yumans.

(J) It is psychologically significant that the French political novelist Maurice Barrès, like the Mohave Indians, replaced belief in personal immortality with a passionate devotion to the ideal of national survival. Belief in personal immortality should perhaps be interpreted as a distorted defense against castration anxiety, which bears a closer resemblance to a reaction-formation than to a true sublimation, as exemplified, for instance, by the ideal of group survival.

NIGHTMARES OF WATER

By

Nandor Fodor, LL.D.

The writer of this study is profoundly interested in the parallelism between the phylogeny of mankind and physiological and psychological ontogeny which nightmares of water display. Many of these dreams seem to recapitulate the birth of the dreamer. This paper, attempting to be clinical and not theoretical, can only answer a few of the fascinating questions which arise in this connection.

Life on this planet began in the tepid primeval sea of countless ages past. Then it was that, according to the Genesis story, the creative "Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." Many millions of years later, the most stupendous step in evolution was accomplished: the adaptation of aquatic life to existence on solid ground. Not since, has evolution taken a comparable stride. Yet, in our short lifetimes, we may witness often—every time a child is born—what is at least a symbolic re-enactment of this epochal event.

Human life begins in the tepid, amniotic (primeval) waters. In nine months, the embryo passes through the principal stages—from that comparable to the amoeba to that of the "highest" vertebrate—which it took eons for the race to achieve. In birth, the child is thrown from the waters to the land, as its first land-ancestors were stranded on the shore by the ebb of the ocean's warm tides.

Thus nightmares of water can be conceived as biogenetic phenomena, akin to the phenomena of physical development from single cell to human adult, within and without the uterus. For psychotherapeutic purposes, determination of the exact mechanism through which the adult re-experiences the trauma of birth may be considered somewhat irrelevant. The present writer has postulated—on the basis of dream interpretation and, considering the absence at birth of an integrated central nervous system—that there is some sort of "organismic" memory extending to the crucial point

of changing from prenatal to postnatal life, and even to some advanced stages of intrauterine existence. If mnemsism is a "memory" of the cell, why should some similar function not exist in an as yet not fully organized multicellular aggregation? But there is no need to labor this point. Objectively, the newborn's first reaction to standing in a waterless world is one of fear and rage. This may be considered physiological rather than psychological — if there is any clear distinction—from which it could be argued that no "memory," in the commonly accepted sense, could persist. How possibly "physiological" traumata could be transformed to "psychological" is beyond the scope of this paper; the process could be instinctual or, at least in part, intellectual, possibly through parental or general cultural influence.

The mechanism, however, appears less important to the writer than the fact that insight into the birth trauma has completely relieved or greatly benefited many patients whose symptoms were resistant to interpretations on the Oedipus or other childhood levels. The writer can cite many cases of claustrophobia apparently traceable to birth traumata. A patient with severe claustrophobia developed her most severe symptom in *tunnels under water*. Her work required her to travel daily between Long Island and Manhattan; she finally gave up use of a route in which the subway train frequently stopped for block signals under the East River. Inquiry disclosed that this patient had had a difficult birth; the amniotic fluid had burst long before delivery; and the baby had spent difficult hours struggling, half-suffocated, through the birth-tunnel. Understanding of, and insight into, this birth trauma relieved a condition which no amount of interpretation of earlier associations had improved in the least. Her phobia was analogous to the nightmare of water which the writer interprets as a nightmare of birth—or if one prefers the term, of the first castration, that is, birth-castration.

It may be objected that there is a conscious concept of birth, familiar in the theme of re-birth to the whole of Christian civilization, and imprinted on our literature from the

earliest times. How is one to answer the objections that the mind's conscious concepts determine birth dreams? The answer, to this writer's mind, is that the conscious is derived from the unconscious. *Oedipus Rex* and *Hamlet* derived from the unconscious; they were not conscious creations which, thereupon, created complexes in the unconscious.

The writer feels that there is as strong evidence for the unconscious origin of birth dreams, and of birth themes in literature, as there is for the Oedipus and castration complexes. With neither conscious, nor unconscious, suggestion, so far as the writer knows, his patients have repeatedly reported dreams of which the only satisfactory interpretation is birth or re-birth; several have recognized—during their dreams—that they were dreaming of their births, and so reported without suggestion or interpretation by the analyst. The motif seems to derive as legitimately from the unconscious as those motifs more widely recognized as orthodox in analysis.

To repeat, in birth the child is thrown from the water onto land in a prehistoric catastrophe—from our adult point-of-view of flood and heaving earth. It is hardly surprising therefore that, in the study of neurotic personalities, so much morbid fear is found centering on waters.

The fear is very wide spread and its manifestations show exceeding variety. It may be linked to oceans, rivers, lakes or a common bathtub. The victim of the displacement may dread looking down from the railing of a ship into the water below. He may be afraid of drowning never having learned, or being able to learn, to swim.

He may explain his actions by a number of ingenious reasons; but all this is rationalization. He is simply afraid, so it appears to this writer, of drowning in, or being engulfed by, the flood of waters that once upon a time was his reassuring, shock-absorbing, life-supporting element. The fear may be disclosed in dreams or in waking inhibitions. In dreams whirlpools, tidal waves or cloudbursts may threaten his life. Awake, he may be unable to cross bridges or stand the sound of rushing water from the tap.

It is not easy to understand the mental process by which the unconscious identifies water with the amniotic fluid and impending birth. It appears that it does so and, according to my findings, it bases this identification on obscure organismic memories and not on a philosophical acceptance of the waters as the source of all life.

It matters little on what ground the ordeal of birth is displaced on water as long as it is so displaced. The issue involved is a practical one. I contend that if the displacement is successfully demonstrated to the victim of water phobia, if he is able to see intellectually and feel emotionally his mental error, he will learn to conquer it, thereby annulling the trauma of his birth.

A woman going home from her place of business avoids a certain street because it leads to a bridge which she would have to cross. She is afraid that the bridge would be the first object that enemy raiders would chose to bomb. This is rationalization which rests on very poor grounds. The bridge in question is just a crossing over a gap in the ground in Brooklyn, not even by the wildest stretch of imagination a military objective. When her attention is directed to this point, she admits the thinness of her reasoning and recalls something that really matters:

"My mother used to say that if a cart drives across a bridge at night, the horses become panicky because they can see the spirits of the dead frisking in the water."

She heard many other stupid stories in her childhood. The supernatural filled her with dread and she could not participate in any discussion about God. While it is a far cry from ghosts in the river to the Spirit of God upon the face of the waters, she did connect the two and feared both because she had transgressed against the laws of her religion.

However, it soon became clear that she was not only frightened but also fascinated by water. If she looked down from a bridge, she felt the water calling to her, and she dared not stay on the bridge for fear that she would jump. Near the house in which she was brought up was a brook, and across it was a plank. From this plank she fell into the

brook again and again. Once she rolled down from the top of an adjacent hill into the brook, and was pulled out covered with blood. So many accidents in her life were connected with water that it seemed as if she had suffered from a repetition compulsion. The origin of this compulsion was revealed during the analysis of an old dream which she vividly remembered after the lapse of years.

In this dream she saw a girl of her childhood fishing on the further bank of the brook. The girl was putting the catch into a small sack, but first she took out a knife and cut off the heads and "legs" of the fish. The dreamer saw the blood on the knife, then asked somebody to take her across the plank.

In narrating the dream, the patient did not notice that she spoke of the "legs" of the fish. As fish have no legs, we are justified in assuming that she speaks of a human creature who is being killed and that, instead of castration fantasies directed at the male sex in general or in particular, she dreams of birth-castration and offers a clue to the water fears from which she has been suffering. I suspected that, being a native of Hungary, she made use of a linguistic ambivalence peculiar to the Hungarian language with which I had had previous experience. In Hungarian fish ("hal") is both a noun and a verb; as a verb it means to die. As fish also relate to a remote stage of our embryonic development, pulling a fish out of water and mutilating it strongly suggests that the ordeal of birth is hidden behind the water fears. Crossing the brook is a birth symbol in itself, standing for the transition from pre-natal to post-natal life.

Curiously, after she came to America, the land of rebirth, this patient could not eat fish without getting eczema. In discussing this, she suddenly recalled that she had suffered from the same complaint once before—during a pregnancy which ended in miscarriage. I concluded that the child in her womb was unconsciously accepted as an equivalent to herself within her mother's body before birth. The memory of the bruises which she had suffered during delivery from

the maternal waters was repressed. As it related to the skin, she converted it into eczema, a skin irritation.

The interpretation had a startling effect. The allergy to fish disappeared; the patient was able to eat it without breaking out in rash.

Another woman combined claustrophobia with fear of waters. Shut by a barn worker into a cornbin as a small child, she nearly died through suffocation. When her voice was almost gone from shouting for help, her last whimpering was heard by a brother and she was rescued. The experience left her with a fear of closed rooms. Once she was asked to work in a place where the door was papered like the wall and almost indistinguishable from it. A trap door above added to the suggestion of a prison cell. She broke out in profuse perspiration and was unable to stay in the room. She had no idea how to deal with the situation. She thought the story of her claustrophobia began with the cornbin, but her dream life plainly revealed the presence of a much deeper trauma. She had recurrent birth dreams in which she had to climb through a narrow hole in a rocky cavity to reach the beach, and was badly frightened.

The story of her water fears revealed the same structure. She was always fearful of the Trent, the Derwent and the Mattock. All three being rivers near her parental home in England. She was afraid of crossing stone bridges, even London Bridge, and could not bear heights. As a young girl she had to fetch the doctor for her mother. The Trent was flooded and water lay on part of the bridge which she had to cross on her bicycle. She was afraid that the waves would sweep her away and suck her under, and became convinced that bodies of water contained treacherous holes. She took the whirlpools of the Trent as evidence of the existence of such holes.

A short time before her first analytic session, she dreamed that she was in an orchard, which was surrounded by a hedge. Both the orchard and the hedge were 'unkempt'. She passed through a hole in the hedge and fell into a canal. There she was sucked into a hole under the

water where everything was peaceful. She knew that water was above her and that someone was calling her name but she experienced no distress.

The birth symbolism of this dream is so obvious that we can no longer doubt the connection between the patient's water fears and her arrival into the world. The dream reflects it in the fashion of a mirror. An orchard is a place where fruit grows from seed. It is a symbol of the Garden of Life into which she has been ushered through the "hedge", a thicket with a corporeal significance. Her fear of whirlpools was the fear of being "swallowed back" into the mother's body. The bridge was a substitute for the pubic arch; as a link between the ante-natal and post-natal state, it fits well into this fear complex. The canal is the uterine passage and the peace is that of the womb before birth. The calling of her name is the first indication of her new destiny, but it inspires no distress as the ordeal of passing into another life is as yet unsuspected.

She recalled another dream in which she fell into the water from a well and was saved by her mother. Then her mother fell in and she saved her. The latter act reveals the typical childish fantasy of reversal of generation. It is best described by the statement of a small girl: "When I grow up, Mummy, I will be so big and you will be so little and I will carry you." By the patient's dream, her infantile mind was crying for release from her water fears.

One of her water nightmares was particularly frightening. She was looking across a river and saw a hedge on the further side. Dark and threatening shadows spread over the water. Suddenly a wooden beam shot into the water on which, in a crucified position, was a big man with an evil grin on his face. He pulled after himself another beam on which, tied in a similar position, the frail body of her doctor was pathetically spread. The evil man stood higher up in the water on his beam, swayed it with his body and submerged the doctor.

The pathetic little doctor turned out to be a father substitute. The patient's father was the under dog at home,

completely dominated by a financially independent wife. Her heart went out to him with motherly affection, and she showed many signs of an identification with her father. In the dream, she appears to be displacing on him the trauma of her own birth, which she symbolises by crucifixion. The big man with an evil grin on his face is a personification of fear.

Her falls in water were paralleled by other falls. As a child, she used to tumble off her swing. Her father used to throw her up high and catch her, but she was always afraid that he would miss. She fell from horseback several times. Once she jumped over a wall and her foot caught on the top. She landed on her head and remained mentally affected for a few days. She never could look down cliffs without a feeling of compulsion to jump. Once she slipped and fell off a cliff with a tea tray in her hand. She did not lose her grip on it and had a strange and delightful fantasy of floating in empty space, holding her sister's baby in her arms. With this baby she associated a bad fright. The child was asleep in her cot, in front of the medicine cupboard, to which she wanted to gain access without being noticed by her mother, who was addicted to taking laudanum. She resented this and, unknown to her mother, she used to dilute her drug potions with water. Somebody warned her to be very careful because, if she were caught, her mother might turn on her with the fury of a beast. She lifted up the baby very gingerly, but the child awoke and began to cry. She was terribly frightened, feeling sure that her mother would find her out.

With the help of this memory we may conjecture what happened when she fell off the cliff. The shock of the fall must have broken the last fetters keeping the trauma of birth locked up in her unconscious. The laudanum incident had already filled her mind with fear of death at the hand of her mother. The fury of a drug addict and the panicky emotions of birth together were too much to bear. She would not have been able to survive the psychic pressure. To save herself, she slipped back into the ante-natal state. Her sis-

ter's baby in her arms represented herself peacefully floating in the amniotic waters.

She was found unconscious at the foot of the cliff, but she was not injured seriously. Perhaps her extreme state of relaxation had something to do with her lucky escape.

Occasionally, anatomic symbolism is combined with the fall into water, thereby revealing birth as the origin of the fear:

"When I was a little girl, we used to have a Y bridge across the river. The floor was of solid wood, but occasionally a piece of board would be torn up and then one could see the river below. I used to have frequent dreams of falling through that hole."

It is hardly possible to escape the inference that the Y is the human body with outstretched legs. It is from the security of her mother's body that the dreamer was falling away, the water being symbolic of the waters of life.

The bridge and island symbolism in birth dreams is very frequent. The fetus is an island in the amniotic fluid, and the first threat to its security is the draining of these waters. The fear of floods and drowning, or the fear of bridges develops as a measure of self-protection against the recurrence of an event that proved fatal to pre-natal security. The threat is unreal, because fetal security, once left behind, is only a will-o'-the-wisp, but this is kept out of consciousness and the fear endures as if it had no relationship to time. The reason for this deathlessness of pre-natal fears is that time stands still for the unborn child who knows of no periodicity outside the rhythmic pulsation of the mother's blood and is unaware of the existence of any fixed point in outer space to which its rhythmic functions could be related; it lives in a timeless continuum, and has no standards by which its own growth could be measured and compared.

A fascinating objectification of the fear of water and the fear of falling in an amphibian creature is exemplified by the following dream:

"A lake in a mountainous woods and a girl in a car. Renaissance architecture is suggested by pilasters which

form a semi-circle around a bay. Cut in the rock are winding steps. The girl is descending. She is afraid that somebody is after her with a knife. A gigantic crab comes out of the water and grabs something, but this is hidden from her view by the turn of the steps. When she rounds the corner, the crab speaks: 'Allright, lady?'—and attempts to seize her. It seems that the crab wanted to know if she was ready. She was not. Presently the crab comes back; in its claws is a big turtle, on the back of which seaweed seems to be growing."

The same night she was a newly born baby floating over the floor. It was transparent like an alabaster statuette of the Virgin Mary. She also saw a zodiacal circle in which people had to stand under the sign of their birthday.

The birth element in her dreams is over-determined. Birthday is expressly mentioned. A new baby is shown. The pre-natal state is referred to by floating. The fear of death is displayed in the flight from the knife and in the crab's invitation to drowning. What does it all mean?

The dreamer's first association with crab was Cancer, a sign of the Zodiac. Then she discovered that the crab must stand for her mother because Cancer is her mother's astrological sign. But her mother does not speak in a deep voice; Popeye, the Sailor does,—she heard him in the movie.

The patient's father is a naval commander. The gigantic crab seems to represent both her father and her mother; it is the symbol of the destroying parents, the witch mother and the ogre father.

She never liked crabs. In France she was badly frightened by a large spider crab. It had pincers that cut through the flesh like a knife. She liked to "pop" seaweed, but was always afraid there might be crabs in it. Turtles she did not mind. They walk slowly and retire into their shells at the sight of danger. "Shell" recalled a peculiar birth fantasy of her own. They had a picture at home of Botticelli's Venus on Shell. She fancied she was born in a shell because her birth place was New Rochelle.

Let us now examine the scenery. The lake in the moun-

tainous woods can well represent the fetal waters. The woods that surround it may symbolise the anatomic setting by nature symbolism as in Joyce Kilmer's poem:

"A tree that may in summer wear
A nest of robins in her hair"

In continuation of this symbolism, the semi-circle suggests the pubic arch; the rock is a graphic representation of the mother's hard labor; the winding steps are a variation on the spiral, which is an ancient symbol of birth and creative energies; it unfolds like life and its windings suggest the shape of a snake. Renaissance, the term by which she describes the style of architecture, means re-birth. Primitive men knew but one way to rebirth: through the uterus. The perplexity of Nicodemus: how can a grown man re-enter his mother's womb, was answered by Jesus, who said that the Kingdom of Heaven can only be reached through the water and the spirit. He who aspires to find it through his mother is doomed. He will be dragged under by the crab, gored by the knife-like pincers, lose the breath of life by drowning.

Yet this is but part of the story. As an amphibian creature, the crab also symbolises resurrection, life in two planes. The girl was not prepared for the appearance of the crab. The question: 'All right, lady?' would not have been posed if she had been ready for the Kingdom of Heaven. She was not ready because she knew no other way but the limbo of the womb, where death bars the path. The Way is Immaculate Reconception; she must emerge pure and transparent like the alabaster statuette of the Virgin Mary. The teacher of Alice in Wonderland was a tortoise, "because she taught us". She, too, must learn from a tortoise, or a turtle; She has to grow, slowly, but surely. Evolution is as slow and as sure as the turtle. The seaweed growing on the back of the turtle represents this growth. As the turtle is swallowed by the crab, so must she pass through the womb of resurrection to gain a new life.

The cosmic note which the dream strikes is an excellent illustration why we are afraid of the unconscious. Water is

the symbol of life but also of death. A symbolic death is the price we have to pay for a new life and, as nightmares of water testify to it, we are as afraid of paying it as we were at the time of our first arrival into this world.

THE JEWISH GOD AND THE GREEK HERO

by

Anton Lourié
(Los Angeles)

During the last thirty-six years, since the publication of *Totem and Taboo*, psychoanalytic research has sufficiently established the fact that the myths of the various peoples are but endless variations of relatively few unconscious ideas; this warrants going a step further and looking for specific trends in the different mythologies, which is attempted here with regard to the Jews and the Hellenes.

This paper forms part of a greater context; it is the introductory chapter of a book, now in preparation, in which a psychoanalytic search into the "Jewish personality" is attempted. The theory is set forth that the Jew, as a psychologic type, is determined by a specific pattern of resolving the Oedipus complex, and that other national types are similarly characterized by specific patterns of repression. This is first demonstrated by contrasting the Jewish and Hellenic trends in the "shadowgraph" of mythology and ritual, where we can see the unconscious trends as if they were projected upon a screen. At the same time, it is stressed that the value of mythology as a source for such studies is limited.

* * *

I. MYTHOLOGY AND RITUAL GOD THE FATHER

The Jewish attitude found its monumental expression in the concept of Jewish monotheism. Here the emotional submission to the father assumes cosmic dimensions. The father's image is projected into the skies and becomes so awe-inspiring that His countenance dare no longer be visualized ("Thou shalt not make a graven image"), nor dare His name be pronounced (so that it fell into oblivion and scientific research had to rediscover it as reading

"Yahweh"). God is the Father, since He has created man. He has also created day and night, heaven and earth, plants, stars and animals. Therefore He is the Lord of the whole universe and there can be no other god.

In Greek mythology, God is portrayed differently. Zeus too is the father-image projected into the skies, but he is not the creator of the world, being himself begotten by his father Cronos who, in turn, was preceded by his father, Uranos. So will Zeus be succeeded in time. This portrays real life, where every son eventually becomes a father.

In the Jewish concept, the Father is eternal; there can be no question of either preceding or succeeding Him; it would be a sacrilege to think that He could ever grow old or become replaced. It would be just as inconceivable that there could be a Mother at His side. Yahweh did not beget mankind with a wife — He created Adam by His omnipotence, out of naught. (In the same way, Adam, the progenitor of mankind and, as such, another projection of the father-image, was at first all alone. It was as an afterthought that the Creator provided him with a wife. Significantly, God made her out of Adam's body, while the latter lay asleep; it looks as though Adam had given birth to her, once more suggesting that men can produce a child).

In Greek mythology, by contrast, both parents were projected — Uranos, Cronos, Zeus each has a wife. Only the very beginning out of chaos is unisexual — and there it is a woman, Gaia, who all by herself gives birth to a son, Uranos, and is then his wife. This myth reflects the phantasy of a fatherless world, where the child can have the mother for himself. Obviously, this is not the attitude of filial submission.

The absence of a Mother Goddess in the Jewish concept calls for further explanation. One would expect the son's submission to lead to a glorification of both parents. Why then does he exclude the mother so conspicuously? It is because he feels she shares his guilt — she has seduced him in his phantasy. Therefore, when he surrenders to the father and gives up any claim to her, he finds comfort by

imagining that he is alone with the Father and with no Mother around to disturb the peace of his filial submission.

Uncertain about biological facts, the child can arbitrarily endow the parent of his choice with reproductive power; transposed to the mythological scene, either an omnipotent Father God or Mother Goddess appears as Creator of the world.

The identification of Father-Heaven and Mother-Earth (this is the meaning of "Uranos" and "Gaia"), reflects a progressed sexual knowledge: the allegory is suggested by the picture of heaven covering the earth and fertilizing it with rain. So universal is this allegory that there has hardly been a people in whose mythology it would be missing (1). Even in modern languages, "heaven" is usually still masculine, "earth" feminine. The Jews were no exception; but when they elevated the Father to ever higher stations, he outgrew this identification and became the Creator of heaven and earth.

THE REBELLION

In Jewish as well as in Greek mythology, there is a story of a primeval rebellion of the Son against the Father, and nothing could better expose the fundamental difference between the Jewish and Greek attitudes.

The Jewish version is the story of the Fall of Man. Adam is instigated by the woman to eat the apples which the Father has forbidden. The sexual meaning of this symbolism is disclosed when the two, after their transgression, suddenly feel ashamed of their nakedness. The outraged Father demands an explanation. Adam's answer, "The woman whom Thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree and I ate it," reflects the attitude of the child who feels guilty but wants the mother to share his guilt — was it not she who aroused his desire, made him feel jealous and aggressive toward the father? Eve's character in this myth changes constantly, as happens in dreams, so that she represents Wife, Mother, Sister, Daughter — each in turn. The infantile phantasies, projected into the infancy

of mankind, can assume truly dramatic proportions, as will be seen in the Greek version. Here, in the Bible, the drama is toned down to an innocent story about some apples which the father does not want his children to enjoy. Their punishment strikes us as much too severe for their misdeed — or is the story not so harmless after all? The real meaning of the prohibition and of the crime obviously has been censored; the emphasis is on the defeat of the children and on their guilty conscience.

Little censorship blurs the Greek version and the outcome of the rebellion too is very different. Gaia, the Mother, instigates her son, Cronos, against his father, Uranos, and hands him a jagged sickle which she has made. At night, when Uranos is about to embrace his wife, Cronos, obeying his mother's wishes, cuts off his father's genitals. There are no feelings of guilt in the son who succeeds to his father's throne. However, he does not also succeed to his father's bed; instead, he marries his own sister, Rhea.

The jagged flint sickle reveals the ancient origin of the story; such tools are sometimes excavated in neolithic strata (2). Evidently the story was preserved unchanged, just as it had been told in the Stone Age when people tried to figure out how the world began, projecting phantasies from their own infancy into the obscure past. The uncensored tradition of the story plus its different outcome illustrate clearly the difference between the Greek and Jewish attitudes. The Greeks did not feel repelled at the thought that the Son rebels and overthrows the Father, as long as he stays away from the Mother (3). This certainly points to a different resolution of the Oedipus complex than that of the Jews. Nowhere in the Old Testament does the Son triumph. The only other attempt at open rebellion—when man tried to reach the heavens by erecting the Great Tower—was easily frustrated by the Father. There are, however, traces in the texts of passages which had been censored or altered because they told a different story. This points to a time when the Jewish attitude had not yet been formed.

THE GUILTY CONSCIENCE

The story of the incident in Paradise gave rise to the doctrine of Original Sin. The feeling of unconscious guilt toward the father, which recurs in every human being, was thereby explained as an heritage from the first couple—man is "born" in sin. (From Freud's analytical interpretation, we now know that this guilt feeling is non-existent in the infant but develops following the Oedipus phase).

This too finds a Greek parallel. The drops of blood from Uranos' wound impregnated Gaia, who in due time gave birth to Erinyes, that horrifying snaky-haired woman who pursues the offenders of divine law and drives them into a frenzy. In later Greek mythology she has multiplied into a host of Erinyes, personifying the pangs of conscience which torture those who rebel against the Father's will. Here at last is submission to the Father in the Greek concept: While man is not born in sin, he becomes guilty when he dares to imitate what only the immortal gods are privileged to do; (heroes, men who have one divine, one mortal parent, are excepted and may even gain immortality by such deeds). But the filial submission of the Greek is far from complete. While he confesses loyalty to the Father and praises piety as virtue, his real admiration is reserved for the struggling, scheming and fearless individual—his ideal is the rebellious son. Here for the first time we see the tragic split in Western man which later fatefully recurs in the Christian civilization.

THE MASTERY OF FIRE AND OF THE EARTH

Abraham is a glorified prototype in Jewish tradition. Judging from what has been preserved, countless stories must have circulated about Abraham's obedience to God and how he was rewarded with the promise of an abundant progeny and a good land where they would dwell on their own ground. Greek sentiment prefers a hero like Herakles, Zeus' illegitimate son, who performed countless heroic deeds, through which he finally gained immortality, or admires Prometheus who stole the fire from Zeus and brought

it to mankind. Zeus, angered, had him bound to Mount Caucasus and subjected him to a cruel punishment. But Prometheus too was finally admitted among the gods; once more the Son had triumphed.

Zeus was angry at all mankind for using the stolen fire. Since he could not take the fire back, he cursed man with diseases and with all other evils which plague man ever since (Pandora's Box). One of his curses is that man must work. Zeus "keeps hidden from man the means of life—else they could easily do work enough in a day to supply themselves for a full year without working." (4)

The same curse was put on Adam for eating from the Tree of Knowledge: "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." Here too it appears associated with the curse of physical suffering and mortality. The woman was cursed with labor pains in giving birth, and both were expelled from Paradise lest they eat also from the Tree of Immortality: "Dust thou art and to dust thou shalt return." (Genesis, 3).

The mastery of fire and the acquisition of knowledge appear here as rebellious deeds for which man must pay by being mortal; and since the toil of agriculture is represented in both myths as an additional punishment, the mastery of the earth above all must have aroused guilt feelings. Man's pride in the progress of civilization and his increasing independence make him feel guilty toward the Father; working and inventing mean to him taking possession of what belongs to the Father. But his conquest of Mother Earth has the additional implication of incest (5).

In Jewish mythology an attempt is made to deny the rebellious implication of mastering nature, by claiming that God granted permission: "Replenish the earth and subdue it and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air and over every living thing that creepeth upon the earth." (Genesis, 12, 28 ff.) But this did not appease the Jewish conscience and in atonement the Sabbath was instituted. Every seventh day is set aside as a day of abstinence in which man must refrain from working

and from using fire. The explanation given is that the Father Himself has set the precedent by resting after six days of creation; it would be presumptuous of His children not to follow His example. (6)

THE SON CASTRATED OR SACRIFICED

The cruel punishment which Zeus imposed on Prometheus was that he caused a vulture daily to consume his liver, which grew back at night. Obviously, this is a disguise. According to the logic of retaliation, the guilty son must suffer what he wanted to inflict upon the father. Prometheus stole Zeus' lightning; but the real meaning of this theft, (and the unconscious implication of any son rebellion), was disclosed once and for all by the Cronos myth. Clearly, it must have been Prometheus' genitals and not his liver which the Father kept taking from him in insatiable revenge (7). Significantly for the Greek attitude, the story of Prometheus' castration is disguised and has a happy ending, while Uranos' castration in the Cronos myth (recorded in the same source, Hesiod) is told in every detail and as final. The Greeks of the eighth century B. C., for whom Hesiod sang, could accept the father's mutilation, but not the son's.

Again, the Jewish attitude is the reverse: direct aggression against the father is so repugnant that any mention of it has been purged from the texts and, we may add, from conscious thinking; but the retaliation is openly performed on every son in the symbolic ritual of circumcision (8). The first-born sons were even offered to God as a sacrifice. In historic times this was done only with first-born animals (and the first harvests), whereas the first-born sons were only symbolically offered and redeemed. The repudiation of the original practice is reflected in that story in which God ordered Abraham to sacrifice his son and, when Abraham was about to obey, showed him a ram which he should sacrifice instead (Genesis, 20).

THE GLORIFIED SON

The Cronos myth must have impressed the Greeks of

later times as archaic. At least their poets made no further use of it after it had once been recorded by Hesiod.

The theme itself, of the Son who strives to overthrow the Father, recurred in countless mythologic variations, but now always somehow disguised. The son may win the father's throne, for instance, by unintentionally causing the latter's death (Theseus). Or he may act out the full drama, if the father-identity is carefully veiled: a monster, about to take possession of a fair maiden, is killed by the hero who, having freed her, makes her his wife (Perseus). Obviously, the Greek mind had become sensitive to father aggression and was groping for a solution by which the son could win without outspoken offense against the father (9). This is the hidden meaning of most of those strange adventures in which Greek mythology abounds. Most of them are ascribed to a few favorite heroes whose lives thus become an endless sequence of fantastic occurrences. The great variety of situations in those myths indicates that the Greek mind was searching for new solutions.

Slowly, a favorite pattern emerges in the course of time: the mythologic interest shifts to the deification of the hero. The belief becomes widespread that the hero becomes immortal when he has completed his earthly life. Allegedly, this is the reward for his great deeds on earth—actually, it is the final triumph of the Son. His contest with the Father is re-enacted once more, on an elevated level, as it were. On this higher stage, the Father is personified by Zeus. The hero, while on earth, may sometimes rebel against the supreme Father, but never would he dare to aim at overthrowing him; he may even suffer misfortune, unjustly imposed on him by Zeus or other gods. But when he dies, he is removed to the heavens and granted immortality. The conflict ends by compromise: the Son does not dethrone the Father, but shares his immortality.

The circumstances of deification and the position of the heroes afterwards, remain uncertain in Greek mythology. Only Herakles had a real apotheosis: he ascended to heaven on Zeus' chariot (according to another version, on a cloud).

Other heroes were deified long after death. The immortalized heroes do not join the gods on Mount Olympos; they were believed to have been transformed into stars, which is a symbolic way of depicting their immortal existence in heaven. But their real status, the relation of the glorified Son to Zeus, remains uncertain. Greek thinking solved the son-conflict only up to a point; it was one of the threads which were picked up later in Christian ideology. The sufferings of the dying Herakles, the thunder which rolls down from the skies when he draws his last breath, and his apotheosis, anticipate in some respects the scene at Golgatha and the Ascension. Even the motive of salvation is forecast in at least one myth, that of Chiron who, fatally wounded by a poisoned arrow, foregoes his immortality in order to obtain forgiveness from Zeus for the tortured Prometheus.

BROTHER RIVALRY

Stories of hostile brothers are recurrent in Greek mythology. The two sons of King Oedipus slay one another in combat for their father's throne; so intense is their hatred that even the flame which consumes their corpses on the pyre splits into two. Another pair of hostile brothers, Atreus and Thyestes, fill their lives with unspeakable atrocities out of an insatiable hatred which began when Thyestes had seduced his brother's wife. Similar tales recur in the mythologies of all peoples, and Otto Rank has shown conclusively that the unconscious motive of this fraternal hatred is always rivalry for the mother's love and for succession to the father (10). The brothers usually appear as rivals for their sister's love; but we have learned to see through this disguise (see footnote 3).

From our viewpoint, the significance lies in the different development of the Greek and Jewish representations. To the Greek mind only the aspect of incestuous love is shocking, so that the brother's jealousy must be caused by a woman other than the mother; but rivalry for succession to the father may appear uncensored. Both motivations are objectionable to Jewish sentiment and must be changed

into filial devotion. Here the issue between the brothers invariably is: who is the father's favorite son? Cain kills his brother for the reason that the Father had accepted Abel's offering and had refused Cain's. Jacob must flee his brother's fury because he cheated him out of the father's blessing. Joseph is hated by his brothers, who throw him into a well and eventually sell him into slavery, because he is the father's favorite son. To be sure, the motive of succession is not eliminated entirely—the birthright of the elder son and the paternal blessing (bones of contention between Jacob and Esau) do imply inheritance rights—but this is obscured because every thought connected with the father's death is repugnant. The blessing of the father means that he voices his approval of his favorite son and predicts a prosperous future for him.

EVALUATION OF MYTHOLOGY

Mythological tales may be called the day-dreams of a people. A few favorite phantasies are repeated in endless variations, more or less disguised, as though reflected in the facets of an ever-changing mood.

The phantasies which we saw in the facets of Greek mythology are distinctly different from the Jewish myths. But how much does this tell about a difference between the Greeks and the Jews? What is the function of mythology?

The actual day-dream of an individual serves to gratify his unconscious wishes. Infantile emotions which ordinarily remain repressed emerge from their unconscious strata and try to reach the conscious level in pleasurable phantasies. How much comes to the surface depends upon the individual's own censorship, because he dreams in privacy. (Of course, this censorship is automatic, not wilfully controlled).

In myths, the same unconscious wishes come to the surface. The individual who is listening to a legend, identifies himself with the mythological character and enjoys his triumphs and gratifications. The difference, in contrast to day-dreams, is that here there is no privacy. A myth is public property; the individual who identifies himself with

Cronos and Prometheus, or with Abraham and Joseph, knows that he does so in community with the entire group. This checks his phantasies but, at the same time, makes him feel at ease. The group has told him, so to speak, what and how much may become conscious, and how it has to be disguised. A myth is a pattern for day-dreams officially approved by the group. (In the same way, rituals are approved symbolic acts for the expression of unconscious thoughts at some special occasions).

This determines the value of mythology for our purpose. We learn what individuals were supposed to dream according to their group convention. The Greeks and Jews had distinctly different ideas. The Jewish individual was supposed to disregard the Mother in his phantasies, glorify the Father outright, renounce any competition with him, find the reward for filial submission in the paternal blessing and divert his aggressive feelings into brotherly rivalry for the Father's love. The Greek, by contrast, was encouraged to visualize the Father with ambivalence and even to enjoy rebellious phantasies, but to restrict them to gaining only a share in the Father's glory and to excluding any desire for the Mother.

It is to be expected that such different ideas about permissible phantasies must find a parallel in the social attitudes of the two peoples. However, this cannot be ascertained from mythological material.

This limitation is quite often overlooked; it is a common fallacy, for instance, that the Greeks and other ancient peoples, at a very early time, must have allowed marriages between brother and sister, because this appears so frequently in their mythology. Dreams often portray situations which the dreamer would not even permit himself to think about, much less act out, in real life; but they reveal the hidden meaning of his real actions, a meaning which he himself is not aware of. In the same way, mythology can yield the interpretation of the unconscious trends which influence a people's social pattern, but it does not reflect actual conditions.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The unconscious trends of a people are not static—mythology shows that they have a history of their own. This consideration will provide the leads for our further search.

Jewish mythology gives evidence of an earlier phase when it must have been much closer to the "Greek type". Heaven and Earth had been Father and Mother, the sons had rebelled against the father, brothers had vied for their sister's love, etc. Those earlier phantasies must have been given up when they became offensive to the ideal of filial submission, because the myths we know have been so thoroughly changed that only literary criticism can detect traces of their original form (11). The important consideration for us is that obviously the emphasis on filial submission had not always been in the Jewish lineage, but began to develop at a specific time which it should still be possible to ascertain.

The second consideration is that expressions of that attitude can also be found in the mythology and ritual of every other people: the Indo-Aryans have an Eternal Father who created heaven, earth and mankind by His omnipotence (12); the ritual of circumcision was borrowed by the Jews from the Egyptians; the Babylonians set aside the fifteenth day of every month as a day of abstinence, similar to the Sabbath; the idea of "thou shalt not make a graven image," recurs among the German tribesmen of whom we read that "they conceive it unworthy of the grandeur of celestial beings . . . to represent them under a human similitude" (13). We have seen that even in Greek mythology such traces are not entirely lacking.

The evidence of such examples leaves no doubt that they express the same attitude which we pronounced as specifically Jewish. The difference here, as we shall see, is that among the other peoples filial submission appears side by side with evidence of a contrasting attitude and mixed with heterogeneous ideas, whereas in Jewish ritual and mythology it has become so all-important as to exclude any other ideology.

It thus becomes necessary to consider the pattern which we called "filial submission" as a universal phenomenon of

mankind. Before we can hope to find out when, how and why it became a specific Jewish attitude, we must ascertain how it appeared, first of all, and its fate in the cultural history of the other peoples.

Freud asserts that civilization itself began with the repression of the Oedipus desires and that the clan, a direct product of this psychologic advance, was the first form of social union. This then is our logical starting point.

* * *

The following chapters show how the history of social evolution reflects intermittent phases of growing and relaxing repression. The evolution from the clan stage throughout the tribal phases and into the early national period of a people follows the same characteristic curve everywhere. The later chapters attempt to ascertain when and under what circumstances the specific Jewish pattern of repression became fixed.

The second volume of the book deals with the contemporary non-religious Jew and reveals that he is still characterized by this same, if somewhat modified, pattern of repression.

(1) "We find the conception of Heaven as Father and Earth as Mother of the world in all of Oceania, in China, ancient India, among the Semites, Greeks and our Nordic peoples. Nor is it lacking in the Americans . . . We always see the Father lying upon the Mother in more or less explicit sexual connection . . ." etc. (Frobenius, *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*, I, p. 268 ff., translated here from Otto Rank's quotation in *Das Inzest-Motiv in Dichtung und Sage*, p. 270. Leipzig Wien: Frank Deuticke, 1926).

(2) The Greek artists of the historic period who represented Cronos showed him with a sword which has a peculiar hook-like attachment. Obviously in their day the jagged sickle (about which they read in Hesiod) was no longer known and not being archaeologists, they had to draw on their imagination.

(3) He is allowed, in the world of mythology, to take his sister instead. Cronos married his sister, as did Zeus when he in turn overthrew Cronos; having succeeded to his father's throne, Zeus married his own sister, Hera. In both stories the sister is an obvious mother-substitute. The Son's desire shrinks from admitting its real object and becomes

gratified by possession of the Sister. The only instance of actual incest with the mother in Greek mythology is that of King Oedipus. There the crime is made less offensive by the twist that he marries his mother without knowing her identity.

(4) Hesiod, *Works and Days*; translated by H. G. Evelyn-White; Loeb Classical Library, New York; G. P. Putnam's Sons; 42-44.

(5) The use of fire too might have incestuous implications. At any rate, primitive people associate the working of the fire-drill with sexual intercourse. In the words of Sir James G. Frazer: "In all such cases the horizontal stick, which the drill perforates, is regarded as female, while the upright stick or drill proper is considered as male; so that on this analogy fire elicited by the fire-drill may be said to be produced from the body of a woman, and particularly from her genital organ, which in the fire-drill is represented by the hollow in which the drill revolves." (*Myths of the Origin of Fire*, London: MacMillan & Co., 1930). The sexual symbolism attached to fire by various peoples is dealt with at length by Otto Rank in *Psychoanalytische Beiträge zur Mythenforschung*, 2nd Edition, Wien: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1922; p. 22 ff.

(6) Erich Fromm, "Der Sabbath", *Imago* XIII, 1927, p. 223 ff.

(7) In this tale, the castration anxiety which the child develops at the height of his Oedipus phase and which eventually causes repression of the conflict is mythologically projected.

(8) It is a curious coincidence that here too we can trace the tradition back into the Stone Age. In several passages where circumcision is mentioned in the Bible, the ritual is performed with a knife made of flint (e. g. Exodus 14, 25; Joshua 5, 2-3). Religious conservatism seems to have preserved an archaic relic, since tools for ordinary use were no longer made of flint in Biblical times.

(9) Even Oedipus himself (who does not belong in this group because he is a moral and therefore becomes guilty by his deed) murdered his father without knowing his identity.

(10) *Das Inzest-Motiv*, etc.; Chapter XIII: Die Bedeutung des Geschwisterkomplexes.

(11) There is an incongruity, for instance, in the story of Noah's drunkenness (Genesis 9, 20 ff.). From the way Ham's behavior is described, the worst we can suspect is that he showed a slight disrespect against his father. Why then did Noah curse Ham's progeny so violently? We can safely assume that Ham's actual misdeed must have been of the Cronos or Prometheus type. — Of a second story, that of Cain and Abel, we happen to have direct evidence of its original form. An ancient tradition which crops up several times in rabbinic literature relates the story in exactly the same way in which it recurs in other mythologies. Rabbi Zadok, for instance, is quoted as having taught: "A great hatred entered Cain's heart against his

brother Abel not only because his offering had been accepted, but also because Abel's twin-sister was the most beautiful of women and he desired her in his heart." (*Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*, transl. G. Friedlaender, p. 154, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1916. — Other sources quoted by Otto Rank, *Das Inzest-Motiv* etc., p. 422). — Even traces of an abandoned Mother cult were discovered in certain rituals by G. G. Barag, ("The Mother in the Religious Concepts of Judaism", *American Imago*, Vol. 4, No. 1, August 1946) — There are numerous other examples.

(12) As told in the first chapter of the Laws of Manu, Svayambhu, "The Self-Existent", at first a spiritual being, "by a thought" created the waters and placed His seed in them. The seed became a golden egg, "in brilliancy equal to the sun", and in that egg He himself was born corporally, as Brahman. He then divided the egg into two halves out of which He formed heaven and earth; thereafter, He caused the four castes of man to proceed from His mouth, arms, thighs and feet, respectively. Dividing His own body, He thereafter became half male, half female, and so on, in endless variations of the theme that the Father alone "with irresistible creative power" produced every thing and every being. (*The Laws of Manu*, Chapter I, transl. by G. Buhler, *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 25, Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1886). (13) These are Tacitus' words (*Germania* IX, Oxford translation). They must refer to a particular tribe because the use of idols by the Germans is well established.